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ACTS Symposium

THE ANCIENT CHURCH AND ITS CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT

- Sam H. Moffett

The subject tonight is "The Ancient Church and its Cultural Environment", the second in a series which has already ably covered, under Prof. Dorot*, the New Testament church. So by the term "ancient church" let us refer to the post-New Testament, post-apostolic period. I will date it roughly from 64 to 640 A.D., although I am aware that the last of the apostles may have lived until as late as 90 A.D., and that some people date the beginning of the Middle Ages as early as 476 A.D., the traditional date of the end of empire in Rome.

* Lutheran Missions

But let me stretch a point and study with you tonight the church and the world from 64 to 640, from Nero to Mohammed, from the martyrdom of Paul (traditionally in 64) to the first beach-head of the faith in China in 635 and the beginning of its eclipse at the other end of Asia as Islamic Arabs conquered Persia in 640. There is a certain justification for considering that whole period as a unit. In secular history it is the period between the consolidation of the Roman Empire under the early Emperors, and its breakdown under the last Roman rulers of the West. In church history, it is the period between two times of officially significant transition: at the beginning, the transition from first to second generation Christians when believers who had never seen Jesus took over the leadership of the church from the apostles; and at the end, the transition from early to mediaeval Christianity in the west, and from early Christianity to Mohammedan victory in the east.

So the period of time from 64 to 640 is not an unnatural segment of time to study as one piece. But it is an amazingly complex period, so let us look first at the major characteristics of that world of the ancient church.

THE WORLD OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH (64 to 640 A.D.)

1. It was an age of great empires. The power of the age was controlled by three huge empires--the Roman, the Persian and the Chinese. The rest of the world did not count for much. Northern Europe and Africa were still tribal. the Americas were unknown. Even India, though rich, was divided among many local kingdoms and united only for a while, and then only in the north, under the Guptas. Of these three Empires, in the period we are studying, one became officially Christian. That was the one in the west, Rome. But the two in Asia were not converted. Persia was evangelized. It even developed a strong and remarkably missionary church. But the Persian church could not win even its homeland for Jesus Christ. China, the third Empire, was only barely touched for Christ at the very end of this period, and that first Christian mission to China too soon disappeared almost without a trace.

Thus in the West the church prevailed over its imperial, political environment. Rome persecuted the Christians, but the Christians conquered Rome. In the East, however, in Asia, empires proved stronger than the church. This difference between East and West in that early encounter of the church and state has had enormous historical consequences. Europe, where Empire was won to Christ more than 1600 years ago is still numerically the most Christian of continents--82% Christian. [1] But Asia, where evangelization failed in any significant way to affect the centers of primary political power, is today the least Christian continent in the world--only 2% Christian.

But it is dangerous to carry that line of argument too far. For example, it can be pointed out that there were two whole nations in Asia which became Christian even before Rome in the West. But the results were of mixed significance, historically. The first, according to some evidences, was Osrhoene with its capital at Edessa, a little border kingdom between the great empires of Rome and Persia at the bend of the River Euphrates. It may have become officially Christian, under a king named Abgar, as early as 200 A.D., which is a hundred years before the conversion of Constantine. But the conversion of Osrhoene has made little impression on world history. That early Syrian Christianity has virtually disappeared. To the north of Edessa and also in Asia Minor lay a larger kingdom, Armenia. It became Christian under its king, Tiridates, about the year 300. Again, the result, historically, has been inconclusive, for although in the main Armenians have kept the faith and still tend to be predominantly Christian despite incredible national tragedies, the country itself has lost its identity. There is no Christian Armenia today, for there is no independent Armenia.

2. It was an age of war. Rome was the strongest power on earth, but it was discovering to its surprise that it takes more than an army to keep the world at peace. At the edges of its strength, on the far borders--even during the famous pax Romana (Roman peace)--there was always war. What Vietnam and Angola have been to the world today, the British Isles and Armenia were to Rome in those first centuries of the Christian church--always in turmoil, draining away the military strength of the Empire. Rome could ill afford such a drain on its resources for the unending conflict with its major enemy, imperial Persia, demanded constant vigilance. For 500 years Rome and Persia fought to a stalemate. Rome could not conquer Persia, though it often defeated it, and Persia could not conquer Rome though it captured even Roman emperors. In the end, both empires fell, but not to each other. It was the Germans who over-ran Rome, and the Arabs who conquered Persia. It should not be forgotten that only half of Rome fell, the Western

1. The sometimes quoted statement that Latin America is 94% Christian does not disprove this statement. Latin America's 94% is a softer, less realistic figure than Europe's 82%, though both refer to nominal Christians.

half. Constantinople and the Eastern Roman Empire endured for another thousand years.

War, ~~too~~, like politics from which it is inseparable, has had its consequences in the church. It is only necessary to trace on a map geographically the divisions of the Christian church in this period to discover the unhappy truth that church schisms may have been shaped as much by wars and national rivalries as by theological differences. Four examples will suffice: Catholic Rome, Orthodox Constantinople, Nestorian Persia and the Arian barbarian frontier.

When Rome's Constantine the Great in 313 embraced the Christian faith and ended the persecution of Christians in the West, almost immediately in 340 the Sassanid emperors in the east began to persecute Christians in Persia. What was good for Rome, they thought, must be bad for Persia. Moreover, because the boundary between Rome and Persia, though often shifting was never broken, the church on the Persian side (which we call Nestorian) was, by the fifth century (424) becoming separated permanently from the church on the Roman side (which we call Catholic). The separation was only secondarily theological. Twentieth-century studies, notably by Bethune-Baker, have shown that the Nestorians were far more orthodox than their early Catholic adversaries were ever willing to give them credit for.

Again, when in 330 Constantine moved his capital from Rome to Constantinople, the better to defend his empire against Persia, the resulting division into an Eastern (Constantinople) Empire and a Western (Rome) Empire as surely produced the separation of the church of the west into a Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox sections as the minor theological differences over which the two churches quarreled. In the end, you remember, only one comparatively unimportant clause of the creed divided them. Constantinople said the Spirit proceeds from the Father; Rome insisted that He proceeds from the Father and the Son (filioque). Obviously that was not the real point of division.

Even the character of those two churches, Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox, was shaped by the fortunes of war. In the West the emperor fell. Ever since Constantine, Popes had acknowledged the authority of the emperor even in ecclesiastical matters. Augustine agreed ~~acknowledged~~ that church councils could not be called "without the command and will of Princes" (Kidd, Hist. III, p. 131) Now there was no emperor in the west, and the pope rose to fill the power vacuum. What a contrast to Constantinople. The pope in Rome, dictatorial, independent and politically powerful, rebuked kings and awed barbarians. ~~But~~ In Constantinople to the east, the patriarch, still under the shadow of a reigning, undefeated emperor, became subservient to the state.

The wars that swept down from the north also created a dividing line that separated Christian from Christian and pocketed them in different categories. It is sometimes forgotten that when Alaric the Goth sacked Rome in 410 it was not a case of pagan barbarians destroying the heart of Christendom. Alaric was a Christian. Jerome

might cry in shock at the sight, "The whole world has perished in one City.." (op. cit. p. 44), but Augustine, more balanced, beheld in the disaster the hand of God and pointed out how much greater would have been the slaughter and cruelty had not the Goths been Christians, (though Arian Christians), who spared the churches and all who took refuge in them. (City of God, 1. vii).

The Goths were Arians primarily because the first missionary to the Goths, Ulfilas, had been Arian. But the reason they remained Arian was they they were outside the Roman Empire. Within the empire, after the Council of Nicaea (325), the Arian heresy was wiped out by a combination of theological argument (Athanasius, and the Cappadocians) and political pressure (the emperors Constans, and Theodosius). Outside the empire, however, theology alone without imperial power to enforce it was powerless the persuade the Goths to renounce the theological error of their ways. It took the conversion of a barbarian king to Catholicism and the power of his Catholic sword to start the tide moving against heresy beyond the frontier. The king was Clovis of the Franks, the founder of the city of Paris, and once again war changed the course of church history. With the victory of Catholic Frank over Arian Visigoth in 507, the power of the Goths began to decline and their heresy lost its sting.

Summary: war and empire are only two facets of one great power center facing the ancient church: the State. Condensed and over-simplified the results of encounter between church and state in this period may be stated: 1. In China, empire ignored the church. 2. In Persia, empire crushed the church. 3. In Eastern Rome (Const.) the church converted the empire, but empire absorbed the church. 4. In W. Rome church converted empire and took its place.] 3. It was an age of uneasy extremes of wealth and poverty, wisdom ~~ignorance~~

The Emperor Nero could spend the equivalent of $175,000 on Egyptian roses for just one of his lavish banquets, yet one out of every three or four persons in Rome was a slave. As Rome's wealth increased, its virtue seemed to disappear. The cities decayed. Women were warned to stay off the streets of Rome at night. Every pleasure and vice was available. The Persian Empire, in Asia, was even more notorious than Rome both for wealth and vice. Its royal courts were the most extravagantly luxurious the world has ever known. One chamber in the palace had a vaulted roof made entirely of sapphires, sparkling brighter than the blue sky outdoors. The throne was carved from one massive block of gold resting on giant rubies. The crown the Persian emperor wore was so heavy with jewels it had to be supported by golden wires from the ceiling. In the world of the intellect, as well, the same extremes of wealth and poverty were shockingly juxtaposed. The schools of Athens, the library of Alexandria, rose like islands out of squalid, illiterate slums. Only the few were wise, the masses lived in ignorance.

The attitude of early Christians to the world and its wealth, its wisdom and its pleasures is not easy to define. It was more complex than it might seem, and it began to change sharply after the conversion of Rome and its emperor.

In the earlier period the church was more at home with the poor. Christianity was, in the beginning, a working-class movement.

To sum up, then —

In summary the age began with three empires, but ended with four

~~To sum up these first two~~

~~To sum up~~

Let me summarize, briefly, at this point ~~Empire and war~~, ~~political power and military force, as the first two facets of the environment we have considered~~

~~Empire and war, political power and military force~~

The first two ~~facets~~ points of the environment we have been considering, empire and war, ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~, political power and military force, — ~~were~~ are really only ~~two~~ ~~facets~~ faces of one monolithic, ~~other~~ ~~[illegible]~~ external power center ~~in the world of~~ facing the early church: the state. ~~[illegible]~~ ~~The three [illegible] states with which the [illegible]~~. The age began with three empires, but ended with four: China, Persia ~~Byzantine~~ Eastern (Byzantine) ~~([illegible])~~ Rome and Western ~~([illegible])~~ Rome though the latter was ~~in~~ falling apart. ~~To sum up~~ What was the result of the encounter in these four areas between church and state?

~~To expand [illegible] [illegible] ... might summarize the result of the encounter between church and state~~

~~In the Asia, the two of the~~ ~~in the two Asian~~ ~~Empires (China and Persia) [illegible] the [illegible] the influence of the [illegible]. the state proved more powerful than the influence of the church. They [illegible] [illegible]. In the two ~~ ~~western Empires (East and Rome)~~, the power of the gospel triumphed, but ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ with different results in the balance of power ~~between church and state~~. ~~To put it all~~ To put it ~~[illegible] of the [illegible] of church and~~ ~~[illegible]~~ To put it ~~over~~ simply: In China, empire ~~[illegible] [illegible] touched by~~ ignored the church. In Persia, ~~the~~ empire crushed the church. In Eastern Rome, (Constantinople) the church converted the empire but empire absorbed the church, and in Western Rome (Europe), the church converted the empire and took its place.

~~But the relationship must be analyzed not only from the outside, from~~

But this is looking at the encounter between church and environment as if from outside, like an observer watching two antagonists sparring for supremacy. ~~[illegible] from within~~, from inside the church ~~[illegible]~~, ~~the relationship is~~ ~~far~~ more complex ~~than such [illegible]~~ an adversary ~~of [illegible]~~. ~~[illegible] an adversary [illegible]~~ That approach prejudges the relationship and distorts it, ~~Viewed from within~~, from the church's ~~viewpoint~~ ~~the~~ ~~[illegible]~~ the Church and ~~[illegible]~~ itself, — rather ~~as~~ adversaries. Viewed from within, from the Christian viewpoint, the relationship is far more complex, as we shall see ~~[illegible]~~ as we proceed to examine it further.

[illegible] [illegible] the church [illegible] [illegible] ... [illegible] →

One of the early popes, Callistus, had even been a slave. But as has been pointed out by Oscar Cullmann ("Early Christianity and Civilization" in The Early Church, p. 67), the judgment of the early church on the world was neither complete hostility, nor absolute approval, nor pure indifference, and it was based on theological convictions. Basically, in the earliest period, that theological conviction rested on two Christian assumptions which were somewhat in tension with each other. The first was that the end of the world is not far away, therefore the things of the world cannot be considered to be of any permanent value. But second, the world was created by God for man to enjoy and control, therefore as long as God allows the world to continue, Christians must not despise his good gifts of creation. Moreover, since Christ is the Lord of this world as well as of the next, and since the things of this world belong to Him, they can be used for His glory. Christians, after all, are in the world, though not of it, as even the anti-worldly Tertullian pointed out:

> "We are not Brahmins or Indian fakirs, nor do we live remote in the woods. We despise none of God's gifts, but we use them with discretion and understanding. Moreover, in living in this world, we make use of your forum, your meat market, your baths, shops and workshops, your inns and weekly markets... We go with you by sea, we are soldiers or farmers, we exchange goods with you. But we do not join in your festivals to the gods, we do not press wreaths upon our heads, we do not go to plays, and we buy no incense from you... We prefer to give to the poor in the streets than to the treasuries of the gods..." (Apologeticum, 42)

The complexity of the Christian response can be seen, however, in the fact that though Tertullian in this quotation seems to be arguing for considerable acceptance of the ways of the world about him, he is actually the foremost example of early Christianity's radical rejection of national and secular cultural influence. That was only one early Christian response to its environment. The classic contrast is between Tertullian (150-225 A.D.) and Clement of Alexandria (182-251 A.D.). It is a contrast between a negative and a positive Christian attitude to the church's non-Christian environment.

Tertullian of Carthage was the first of the church fathers to write in Latin. The son of heathen parents, and trained as a lawyer, he became a Christian late, when he was middle-aged. Brilliant, extreme, argumentative, a "puritan of the puritans", his fanaticism finally carried him outside the established Catholic church into the schismatic Montanist heresy. But not even that error could erase his abiding influence on church doctrine and practice, particularly in the west, where as a genuine, Latin-speaking westerner and an absolute, narrow but completely committed Christian his appeal was enormous.

He was utterly contemptuous of any values, beauties or truths outside the law of God and the Christian faith. He went so far as to reject even reason itself, apart from revelation. (In that respect he anticipates the irrationalism of today's Christian existentialists, though his legalism would be anathema to them). His most

famous saying is "I believe because it is absurd" (credo quia absurdum), although that is not quite what he said. What he actually wrote was:

> "The Son of God died: it is absolutely worthy of belief because it is absurd. And having been buried he rose again: it is certain because it is impossible." (On the Flesh of Christ, 5)

All the Christian needs is faith, insisted Tertullian. The truths of Greek philosophy, the beauty of classical poetry and art, the riches of the ages--all were as nothing to Tertullian.

> "Wretched Aristotle!.." he cried. "What has Jerusalem to do with Athens.... Away with all projects for a 'Stoic', a 'Platonic' or a 'dialectic' Christianity!..." (On the Prescription of Heretics, 7)

He stands as a pioneer of "pure" Christianity, zealously guarding the faith from impure mixture with the world, and the church from contamination by its non-Christian environment.

(Jerome 347-420) So also Jerome; translator of the Bible into Latin from the Greek, but strangely anti-non-Xn Latin: "How can Horace go with the psalter, Virgil with the gospels, Cicero with the apostle?" (Letters 22.29, cited by Cailliet, The Xn Approach to Culture N.Y. Abingdon, 1953. p. 17.

Clement of Alexandria (182-251 A.D.) is very different. He is the early champion of a "broad" Christianity. Like Tertullian he was born of heathen parents and was converted in middle age, but there any similarity between the fiery lawyer and the charming philosopher ends. Tertullian was ~~a~~ Roman, Clement a Greek, a citizen of the most important Greek city in the empire. Tertullian's legalistic mind was impatient with the subtleties and questions of metaphysics. Clement, the philosopher, was completely at home in the intellectual center of the Hellenistic world, Alexandria. Tertullian was an ascetic. Clement preached moderation. The body is not to be despised, he wrote, and it is better to be married than unmarried. Even wealth is not to be despised, he said, explaining the incident of Jesus and the rich young ruler as teaching the young man not to give up his money but to change his attitude toward it and use it properly, i.e. for others.

This emphasis on proper use is the key to Clement's attitude toward the non-Christian environment. His tolerant position is in sharp contrast to Tertullian's sharp rejection. Clement shows no hostility towards philosophy and reason and culture. All have their place in God's good providence, and properly used will enrich rather than destroy Christianity. They are not substitutes for the revealed Word of God, just as reason is no substitute for faith--faith will always be necessary for salvation--but the good, the true and the beautiful, wherever found can not only be enjoyed by the Christian but can be used by Christians to bring non-Christians one step nearer to God on the road to faith. In one famous passage he writes thus of philosophy, for example:

> "Philosophy was necessary for the Greeks for righteousness until the coming of the Lord. And now it assists toward true religion as a kind of preparatory training for those who arrive at faith by way of demonstration. For 'Thy foot shall not stumble' if thou attribute to Providence all good, whether it belongs to the Greeks or to us. For God is the source of all good things; of some primarily, as of the old and new Testaments; of others by consequence, as of philosophy. But it may be, indeed, that philosophy was

> was given to the Greeks immediately and primarily, until the Lord should call the Greeks. For philosophy was a 'schoolmaster' to bring the Greek mind to Christ, as the Law brought the Hebrews. Thus philosophy was a preparation, paving the way towards perffection in Christ." (Stromateis, I.v. 28)

As with Tertullian and Clement in the west, so in Asia can be seen much the same kind of clash of opinions regarding the church's attitude to the world. The two protagonists in the church of the east were Tatian and Bardaisan, in the early period.

Tatian (110-175 ? A.D.) is the Asian Tertullian, as Asiatic as Tertullian was Latin. "I am an Assyrian", he says proudly. Trained in Greek philosophy, he reacted against western ways and returned to Asia to work out his Christian convictions in his homeland. He may even have founded the first seminary in Asia, a "school in the midst of the rivers", i.e. between the Tigris and the Euphrates. He is immensely proud of Asian culture. Everything good in the west, he claims, with some exaggeration, comes from Asia; Greek astronomy from Babylon, the alphabet from Phoenicia, its poetry and music from Phrygia, the postal system from Persia. Even its purest religion, Christianity, came from Asia, and is older and truer than all the philosophies and crude religious myths of the Greeks. (Address to the Greeks, 1,4,21,31) But surprisingly, in the end, Tatian turns his back on the world and its achievements. His rejection was more radical even that that of Tertullian. He calls on Christians to deny the flesh and the world of matter--to give up meat, wine, possessions and even marriage, for sex itself is sinful. He became the father of the encratites, Gnostic ascetics and strange Syrian monks who left the world of men for the deserts, chaining themselves to rocks, walling themselves up in caves, even setting themselves on fire.

Bardaisan (155-222 A.D.) was just the opposite. He was an Edessene nobleman, sportsman, friend of the king, a poet and philosopher who thoroughly enjoyed the luxuries of his position. His theology was a theology of freedom, not restraint. God made man free and good, and commands him to do nothing he cannot do. Six is not sin but to be enjoyed. It is, in fact, purifying, diluting the amount of darkness in the world. (Dialogge on Fate). Where Tatian fled from the world; Bardaisan embraced it so completely he stepped across the line into Gnosticism and syncretism. He began to love the world, perhaps, more than Christ, and in his search for knowledge and love of culture he committed the besetting sin of the syncretists: a willingness to adapt the faith so far that it loses its Christian identity. Oriental astrology, Greek philosophy, sub-Christian Gnosticism, Persian magic and Hellenistic science all fought in his mind with the Christian faith to find a place within his system of thought, and in the end they destroyed him.

Conclusion. In pitting church against state in the earlier section of this lecture, and Tertullian against Clement, or Tatian against Bardaisan in the later section, perhaps I have committed the error of suggesting that in the unending debate on the relationship of the church to its environement, the Christian is always faced with a simple choice between two alternatives: rule with Caesar, or die with the martyrs; or flee the world with Tertullian and Tatian, or accept it with Clement and Bardaisan. In actuality, of course, the issues are incredibly more complicated and the choices innumerable.

The best analytical description of the infinite ways in which Christians have responded to the environment is in a series of lectures given by Prof. Richard Niebuhr of Yale in 1949 at Austin Presbyterian Theological Seminary, later published as a book under the title Christ and Culture (1951). He lists five typical answers to the question of how Christ is related to the world as they have been given down through church history by Christians who want to follow the One but must of necessity live in the other: Let me use his framework as structure for a conclusion.

1. Christ against culture.
2. The Christ of culture.
3. Christ above culture.
4. Christ and culture in paradox.
5. Christ the transformer of culture.

1. Christ against culture. This type of answer emphasizes the opposition between Christ and culture, between the church and its environment. It was perhaps the most common answer in the earlier part of the the period we are discussing. It is found, even earlier, in Paul's collision with the Judaizers and with Christian separation from the Jewish culture. It is found, in the pre-Constantinian empire, not only in the Christian rejection of emperor-worship, but also during the persecutions in a general estrangement of Christians from most of the Graeco-Roman culture. Typical examples, as we have seen, are Tertullian in the west, Tatian in the east, and the monks and hermits of both east and west. Asian monasticism was more radically anti-culture. In the west, the monks retreated physically and spiritually from the world, but not intellectually, and after the collapse of Rome they managed to preserve much of the best of classical culture.

2. The Christ of Culture. This solution of the problem emphasizes the harmony between church and environment. Niebuhr calls it "accommodation Christianity". It makes Jesus the hero of human culture and history--the great miracle worker, or the great educator, or the great liberator, or the great religious leader. But to do so, it makes its own selective judgments about what is most important in civilization, and about who Christ really is. In so doing, it exalts reason above revelation. It adapts Christ to culture, picking from the revelation of Christ in the Bible only those parts which fit what is considered best in culture--the miracles, perhaps, without Christ's ethical and social teachings, or conversely, the Sermon on the Mount, perhaps, without the gospel of salvation. Examples in the early church are found in the many apocryphal Gospels and Acts of the Apostles. For instance, John, in the ACTS of John, supernaturally drives the bed-bugs out of an inn in which he is sleeping--a strangely meaningless miracle. In its extreme

form it became the heresy of the Gnostics who, like Bardaisan, adapted the church to the world by distorting Christ and syncretizing the gospel. But it can also be seen in different guise in Catholic and Orthodox Christianity after Constantine when the church, though it converted the empire, adapted itself to the ways of empire in uses of wealth and power that would have seemed dangerously incompatible with the gospel to New Testament Christians.

3. Christ above Culture (the Synthesists). This solution rejects both opposition and accommodation between the gospel and the world, but finds the answer in a supernatural synthesis. It recognizes (like group 2) that Christ is "the fulfillment of cultural aspirations and the restorer of..true society," and that therefore culture cannot be arbitrarily rejected. But it goes further. It also recognizes that (like group 1) "Christ is discontinuous as well as continuous with social life and its culture," and therefore cannot be plastically accommodated to the world. In the Christian faith the solution comes from outside: God became man that man might find union with God; He came into the world and blessed it and fulfilled it. The best example of this line of thought in the ancient church, as we have seen, was Clement of Alexandria. There are two forms of this position. Before Constantine, as with Clement, the emphasis was on the culture of Christians, that is, enriching the church through proper use of its environmental heritage. After Constantine, as the church accepted social responsibility, the emphasis became the Christianization of culture, Niebuhr points out. Later it becomes the position of Thomism.

4. Christ and Culture in Paradox (the Dualists). This solution sees the church and its environment as linked, but always in tension. Paradoxically, Christ and culture both have valid authority for the Christian, yet Christ and culture are in opposition to each other. The dualists, says Niebuhr, "refuse to accommodate the claims of Christ to those of a secular society as..men in the second (Christ above culture) and third (Christ above culture) groups do. So they are like the 'Christ against culture' believers, yet differ from them in the conviction that obedience to God requires obedience to the institutions of society..as well as obedience to a Christ who sits in judgment on that society". (p. 42) There is no clear example of this in our period. Niebuhr sees hints of it in Paul, and its clearest expression in Luther's theology of the two kingdoms (God's and the world's). Perhaps the closest to it in the ancient church is the heretic Marcion (ca. 150 A.D.) who in a confused way taught that Christians in this world must deal with two gods--the bungling god of the Old Testament (the god of this world), and the god of Paul's epistles and the gospel of Luke ((the Father of Jesus Christ).

5. Christ the Transformer of Culture (the Conversionists). This solution calls the church to transform culture through Christ who converts man in his culture and society, not apart from his environment. It recognizes (like groups 1 and 4) the tension between Christ and all human institutions, for the world has been perverted by sin. But it does not reject culture (like group 1), nor wait for a supernatural resolution of world history (like group 4). It actively seeks to change the world. The great example is Augustine. In his appropriation of all that is good in human culture as created by God and therefore good, ~~though corrupted by sin~~ not inherently evil though corrupted by sin, Augustine resembles Clement (group 3), but with one big difference. That is his insistence on conversion. Clement sees the best of culture as preparation for the gospel. Augustine agrees, but adds that even the best must be converted. Conversion begins with the pagan (as he movingly testifies in his own Confessions), but then moves

1. 4th. Christ the Transformer of Culture (Conversionists). This solution recognizes (like group 1 and 4) the opposition between Christ and all human institutions), but it does not reject culture (like group 1) nor wait for a supernatural triumph (like group 4). Christ is rather seen "as the converter of man in his culture and society, not apart from these, for there is no nature without culture and no turning of men from self and idols to God save in society" (Niebuhr, p. 43).

Niebuhr calls this the "conversionist" approach to the environment. Its call is to transform culture through Christ. Its greatest example in the early period was Augustine.

Three theological emphases:
- the world as God's creation, therefore good.
- the fall as man's sin, not God's creation, and the world therefore corrupted, but not evil.
- history as the story of God's dealings with men, not merely a record of human events. Transformation is possible in history.

Augustine agrees neither with the anti-culturalism of Tertullian (group 1, rejectionists type) nor with the accommodationism of culture-Christians like Bardaisan (grp 2). Charles Cochrane's *Christianity and Classical Culture* makes Augustine's *City of God* as the triumphant climax of the great Christian thought of that early period to regenerate human society through the replacement of pagan by Christian principles (Cochrane, p. 359 ff). Nor is his the synthetic approach of a Clement of Alexandria (group 3) which accepts culture as a natural preparation for the gospel. With Augustine, there must be conversion, beginning with himself (as he testifies so happily in his *Confessions*) but moving beyond self into the world with a gospel that can transform not only the individual but also his environment (as he shows in *The City of God*).

"Christ," says Niebuhr, "is the transformer of culture for Augustine in the sense that he redirects, reinvigorates, and regenerates that life of man, expressed in all human works ..." (p. 209)

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THE WORLD OF THE POST-APOSTOLIC CHURCH

Chronology

World		Religion	
64 A.D.	Rome burns; Nero fiddles	64 A.D.	First persecution of Western church
70	Destruction of Jerusalem		
		110	Pliny reports temple worship decline
161	Marcus Aurelius: triumph of Stoicism; beginning of Rome's decline	156	Montanus and the rise of Montanism
		150-215	Tertullian
		150-211	Clement of Alexandria
227	Sassanid dynasty in Persia	227	Rise of Zoroastrianism
250	First universal, systematic persecution of Christians in Roman Empire, under Decius	242	Mani preaches in Babylon; Manichaeism
		244	Plotinus and Neo-Platonism
282	Absolute military rule by Emperor (without Senate)		Rise of Mithraism, esp. in army
312	Constantine defeats Maxentius	313	Edict of toleration, end of persecution
		320	Arius, and Arianism
		325	Council of Nicaea
330	Constantine moves capital to Constantinople; Empire divided	340	Ulfilas, Arian missionary to Goths
		340	Ephrem founds Nestorian School of Edessa
		340	First persecution of Nestorian church
406	The Vandals cross the Rhine	354-430	Augustine of Hippo
407	Rome retreats from Britain	410	Nestorian church organized nationally
410	Alaric the Goth sacks Rome	431	Council of Ephesus condemns Nestorius
451	Defeat of Attila the Hun	451	Council of Chalcedon
		457	Egypt goes Monophysite (Coptic)
476	Ostrogoths conquer Italy; the traditional end of Roman Emp. Eastern Empire fends off both Goths and Persians.	492	Pope Gelasius asserts papal supremacy
		496	Clovis, king of Franks, baptized as a Catholic
529	Athenian Academy closed	521-597	Columba spreads Celtic Christianity from Ireland to Scotland
		529	Benedict, founder of western monasticism
553	Justinian defeats Ostrogoths, reunites the Empire		
570	Lombards conquer Italy	595	Pope Gregory I sends Augustine (of Canterbury) to Britain
610	Eastern Empire, under Heraclius I becomes Greek, not Roman		
634-642	Arabs conquer Persia, Egypt	622	Rise of Islam
		635	Nestorian missions reach China

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ACTS

INTRODUCTION TO MISSIOLOGY

Samuel H. Moffett

Introduction: A Chronology of Missions

Let me begin this course on Missiology, the science of missions, with an introductory outline of the history of missions to give you some historical hooks in chronological sequence on which you may hang the mass of facts and theories on which the science of missions is based. The classic outline of missions history is that given by Prof. Kenneth Scott Latourette of Yale in his massive, seven-volume History of the Expansion of Christianity. It divides the history of missions into eight major periods from the time of the apostles down to the end of World War II in 1945.

I. The First Advance (1 - 500 A.D.)

"The first great geographic triumph of Christianity," writes Dr. Latourette, "was the winning of the cultural area into which it was born, the Mediterranean world" of the Roman Empire. It sub-divides into two sections:

A. 1-313 A.D. The winning of Freedom for the Faith.
B. 313-529 A.D. The Completion of the Conversion of the Empire.

II. The Great Recession (500 - 950 A.D.)

Although in this period there were great missionary successes, notably the extension of the faith in Western and Northern Europe from England to Scandinavia, and the remarkable missions of the Nestorians across Asia as far as China, nevertheless two decisive factors made it a period of net loss for the faith rather than gain. These two were the fall of the Roman Empire, and the rise and spread of Islam. The number of people in Europe that entered the church between the years 500 and 1000 (some would say 1500), was equalled by the number lost to Christianity in Africa and Asia during the same period. (Freitag, 20th C. Atlas of Christian World, p. 60)

III. The Second Advance (950-1350 A.D.)

The tenth century saw a revival of Roman Catholic zeal and missionary outreach, particularly through the reforms and disciplines of the monastic movement. The Nestorians in this same period showed promise of winning the Mongol Empire to the faith, and the Eastern Orthodox church made great advances in winning Russia to Christianity.

Iv. The Second Recession (1350-1500 A.D.)

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Though the Reformation Protestants achieved little in the way of geographic expansion in this period, they laid the spiritual foundations of the great Protestant achievements of the next period. Most of the expansion in the period was Roman Catholic missionary movement into Asia and the Americas, taking advantage of Spanish and Portuguese leadership in the Age of Discovery. Protestants to a lesser extent followed the Dutch into southern and southeast Asia, and the British into North America.

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Political and intellectual revolution checked the spread of Christianity in the 18th century. The fall of Spain and the interdiction of the Jesuits, as well as the French Revolution all combined to check the zeal and effectiveness of Roman Catholicism for outreach. The rise of rationalism in the so-called Age of Enlightenment dulled the edge of Protestant enthusiasm for mission.

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The modern missionary movement, which begins roughly in the last decade of the 18th century with William Carey, ushered in what Latourette calls "the great century" of Christian expansion. "The outpouring of missionary life," he says, "was amazing". "Never before in a period of equal length had Christianity or any other religion penetrated for the first time as large an area as it had in the nineteenth century." (Latourette, vol. V, p. 468 f.) Three of his seven volumes of missions history are devoted to the 19th century, and he concludes, "Never had the faith won adherents among so many peoples and in so many countries. Never had it exerted so wide an influence upon the human race. Measured by geographic extent and the effect upon mankind as a whole, the nineteenth century was the greatest century thus far in the history of Christianity." (Vol. VI, p. 442).

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Even when the Roman Empire collapsed and the Roman Church took its place as the focus of contact between Christendom and the pagan world, the church developed no systematic theory of missionary theology or practice.

1. The conversion of Europe. The great missionary achievement of the age was the conversion of Europe, but this was achieved in bits and pieces, by devout but isolated pioneers, or by politically motivated rulers, and not by any over-all, coherent strategy of missions.

Let me speak first of the aim of missions in this period. It was directed primarily to the conversion, or more properly Christianization of nations rather than individuals. The object was to convert kings and rulers. Like Clovis of the Franks.

Methods and strategy are not clearly defined. The most important were monastic missionary force. One of the most famous documents of missions strategy in this period is Pope Gregory's letter of 601 A.D. to his missionaries in England. He advocates two important missionary policies: (1) organize the church as early as possible, and (2) do not condemn everything in the pagan religions, but "baptize" as much of it as possible, making it Christian and using it as a bridge into the Christian faith. Perhaps the most effective single piece of missions strategy in the conversion of Europe was the founding of monasteries by the Irish missionaries to Europe as centers of missionary outreach. The most famous of these missionaries was St. Columban.

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to the non-believing world in hi Summa Contra Gentiles, noting that a different approach would be needed to present the gospel to complete pagans, like the Moslems, from that which Christians might use with those who are nearer to the faith, like Jews or heretics, since Jews accept at least the Old Testament, and heretics the New Testament as well, and thus the Bible can be used in whole or in part as a standard of appeal with them. But for complete pagans, he concluded, the only common basis of argument is the appeal to natural reason. It was three more centuries, however, before Catholic theologians began to develope more complete and systematic theologies of mission, stimulated by the challenge of whole new worlds of pagan peoples opened up by the Age of Discovery. The most important of these are the writings of Joannes Azorius (1535-1603), Antonius Possevinus (1534-1611), and Thomas a Jesu.

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INTRODUCTION TO MISSIOLOGY
Samuel H. Moffett

II. The Missiology of the Reformation
(Summary)

Protestants have always been a little defensive about the fact that while Catholic theologians were beginning to grapple seriously with the imperatives of missionary outreach to the world, and while the Catholic missionaries of the missionary orders were reaching the farthest corners of the world--Xavier landed in Japan fifteen years before the death of Calvin--the Reformers seemed singularly unconcerned about the lostness of the world outside Christendom.

A. Luther and the Lutherans.

Luther's view of missions has been defended by some Lutherans, but Gustav Warneck, in his important pioneering work, Outline of a History of Protestant Missions, shows all too clearly, (its inadequacy) "We miss in the Reformers not only missionary action, but even the idea of missions in the sense in which we understand them today," he writes. "And this not only because the newly discovered heathen world across the sea lay almost wholly beyond the range of their vision..but because fundamental theological views hindered them from giving their activity, and even their thoughts, a missionary direction". (p. 9). He concentrates most of his critique on Luther.

Luther seemed to have had three main reasons for neglecting the missionary command of Christ: first, a misinterpretation of Scripture; second, a misreading of church history; and third, too literal an eschatology. His misinterpretation of Scripture was his view that "the nations" (ta ethne) to whom our Lord sends his witnesses are the already converted, Christian nations of Europe, won in times past out of heathen darkness. This makes it easy for him to think of the Reformation mission within Christendom as the continuing fulfillment of the missionary command. His misreading of church history is his conviction that the world has already been reached by the gospel, even back in the days of the first apostles, so he feels no sense of unfinished missionary task. And finally, his eschatology included the curious conviction that some time in the year 1530 the last day would come. Such being the case, the end was too near for serious missionary effort. Besides, had not Christ predicted, in Luke 18:8, that when he returned he would find no faith on the earth?

Melanchthon even more than Luther taught that the missionary commandment was directed only to the Apostles, so is no longer binding upon the church. Later orthodox Lutheranism, opposing the immoderate missionary zeal of the Pietists, hardened into direct hostility against foreign missions.

III. From the Fall of Rome to the Reformation.

As we saw in last week's lecture, the great accomplishment of the earliest period of Christian missions, the first five hundred years (1 - 500 A.D.) was the winning of the Roman Empire. But that victory was somewhat clouded by the nominal nature of the conversion of vast sections of the Empire. Too much of it had been won from the top down as much of the church's apparent missionary strategy had been directed toward the winning of the nations by the baptism of the rulers.

In the second period of Christian missions, in the thousand years from 500 to 1500 A.D., we find two important new developments: first, a deepening of the spiritual base of Christian expansion through the rise of missionary monasticism; and, second, an acceleration of growth in cross-cultural missions outside the Roman Empire.

This period has been divided into three sections by Prof. Kenneth Scott Latourette in his classic History of the Expansion of Christianity, volume II, The Thousand Years of Uncertainty, A.D. 500 to 1500:

1. The Great Recession (500-950 A.D.), which resulted from the fall of Rome and the rise of Islam.
2. The Second Advance (950-1350 A.D.), the roots of which had been planted by the invigorating influence and reforms of the monastic movement.
3. The Second Recession (1350-1500 A.D.), as the papacy became corrupted and Constantinople fell to the Turks.

For this brief survey, however, we shall consider the entire thousand years as one period.

The great accomplishment of the period was the conversion of Europe. The church advanced consistently northwards across that continent all through the millennium from 500 to 1500. In the 6th century the gospel won the Franks; in the 6th and 7th centuries the Angles and Saxons and Celts of Britain. In the 8th century the faith moved into northeastern Europe along the Rhine. The 9th and 10th centuries brought the Slavs of Central Europe and the Balkans to Christianity. Hungary, Denmark, Norway and Russian moved massively toward Christianity in the 11th century; and Poland and Sweden in the 12th. The Estonians, the Prussians and the Lithuanians became Christian in the 13th and 14th centuries.[1] Less consistent, but more dramatic, were Christian gains in Asia, where the Nestorians alternately rose and fell under Persians, Arabs and Mongols until they were finally virtually wiped out by Tamurland, the last of the Mongols, and the rising power of the Turks.

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1. See Latourette, vol. II, p. 20 f.

It may help to have a brief chronology of some of the important names and events of the period:

6th c.	529.	Benedict lays foundations of Western monasticism at Monte Cassino.
	549.	Hephthalite Huns (Afghanistan) receive Nestorian bishop.
	c. 550.	Christians in Ceylon (Taprobane).
	563.	Columba leads Irish monks to Scotland (Iona).
	573.	Columban, from Ireland to Europe (Luxeuil).
	596.	Pope Gregory I sends Augustine to southern England.
7th c.	635.	Alopen, first Nestorian missionary to China.
	c. 640.	(Moslem conquests begin)
	c. 645.	Aidan, missionary from Scotland to northern England.
	678.	Wilfrid begins Anglo-Saxon missions to northern Europe
	690.	Willibrord, "apostle to the Netherlands".
8th c.	719.	Boniface, from England to Germany.
	772.	Charlemagne begins forceful conversion of the Saxons.
9th c. c.	826.	Anskar, from France (Luxeuil) to Denmark.
	861.	Cyril and Methodius, from Constantinople begin the conversion of the Slavs (eastern Europe).
	864.	Boris, king of the Bulgars, baptized.
10th c.	910.	Monastic revival and reform at Cluny.
	966.	Duke Mieszka of Poland baptized.
	987.	Baptism of Vladimir of Kiev begins conversion of Russia.
	995.	King Olaf Tryggvason makes Norway Christian.
11th c.	1007.	A prince of the Keraits is baptized (Central Asia)
	1008.	Olof Skotkonung, first Christian king of Sweden.
	1073.	Pope Gregory VII (Hildebrand) reforms the papacy.
	1096.	The first crusade.
12th c.	1190.	Nestorians return to China through Keraits, under Mongols.
13th. c.	1209.	Franciscan order founded.
	1215.	Dominican order founded.
	1245.	John of Plano Carpini, first R.C. missionary to China.
	1292.	Raymond Lull, missionary to the Moslems.
	1294.	John of Montecorvino, first R.C. archbishop of Peking.
14th c.	1395.	Conquests of Tamerland begin to destroy Asian Christianity.
15th c.	1453.	Constantinople falls to the Turks.

A. Monastic Missions.

"In the conversion of Europe," writes Prof. Roland Bainton of Yale, "three Christian institutions were at work: monasticism, the papacy, and the civil state. Of the three, monasticism was the most important because monks were missionaries, whereas popes and kings were not," (Christendom: A Short Hist. of Christianity and Its Impact on Western Civilization. vol. I. N.Y.: Harpers, 1966. p. 136)

Monasticism, like Christianity itself, came from Asia to the West. It was brought into western Europe by Martin of Tours about 362 A.D., and was moulded into its distinctively western form by St. Benedict whose monastery at Monte Cassino, founded in 529 A.D., was not originally designed for missions but rather for the glory of God and the cultivation of a spiritual life. There is, however, a explosive, outreaching quality in spiritual power, and what were at first only scattered communities of introverted, withdrawn, praying monks became soon, as Bainton puts it, "the church's militia in the winning of the West". (Ibid, p. 133)

In four important ways the monasteries were well suited as agents of Christian mission. First, they were spiritually revived and deeply committed communities in an age of secularized Christianity when too much of the Empire had been only nominally converted. Second, they were centers of learning, Biblical as well as classical, preserving the Bible and the writings of the fathers when so much of the heritage of the past was being swept away by the barbarian invaders. Third, they were self-supporting and unencumbered with families, living on the land wherever they were gathered or were sent, although when centralized, papal missions would have been impossible again until Britain due to the collapse of the financial structures of the Empire. Finally, they had a discipline, which is an almost indispensable mark of a successful Christian mission.

Two types of monasticism spearheaded the Christian conversion of Europe. The first was Irish--enthusiastic, independent and extremely mobile. It resembles in some respects the missionary strengths of modern faith missions. The second was Benedictine--more disciplined, organized, moderate and obedient to central ecclesiastical authority, like modern denominational missions (though the comparison is, of course, over-simplified).

The great period of Irish monastic missions was the 6th and 7th centuries. The Irish (Scots, or Celts as they were then called) were the pioneer missionariesd in nearly all of Europe north of the Alps, and in all of Saxon England north of the Thames. It is important to remember that since the withdrawal of the Roman legions from the British Isles in the early fifth century (410-440), the Celtic church had grown up independent of the Roman papacy. Irish monasticism, therefore, was more free of church control, less restrained by vows and rules, and, in a curiously indigenous way, was rather closely tied to families and clans. The Irish monasteries, says one historian of monasticism, were nothing but "clans reorganized under a religious form" (Count de Montalembert, The Monks of the West from St. Benedict to St. Bernard, 7 vols., Edinburgh, 1861. iii, p. 86)

It is only natural, therefore, to find that the outstanding missionary in Irish missions was a prince, a leader in his clan, St. Columba (521-597). He is known as the "apostle to Scotland" for in 563 A.D. he set out across the stormy waters of the Irish sea in a little hide-covered wicker boat on an evangelistic mission to convert his fellow Celts, the pagan savages of Scotland. His center of mission was the famous monastery of Iona which he founded on an island off the coast. Central in his missionary preaching was the Bible. To every church planted by the Iona missionary bands he insisted that there be given a copy of the Scriptures, a difficult requirement in days when it took a scribe ten months of continuous work to make just one copy of the Bible. (W. C. Somerville, From Iona to Dunblane: The Story of the National Bible Society of Scotland to 1948, Edinburgh, NBSS, 1948, p. 8). It was from Iona, also, that northern England was successfully reached with the gospel, by Aidan about 635 A.D., after the papal missions there had almost been wiped out by Saxon invasions.

To their Biblical, evangelistic approach the wandering Irish missionaries (they were called peregrini, "wanderers" for Christ) added a fierce Irish independence. Columban (550-615), a younger namesake of Columba, set out for Europe when he was forty, set up a monastery (Luxeuil) as a missionary center like Iona, but was so bold in his denunciations of the immorality of King Theodoric of Burgundy and his concubines that he was forced out of Burgundy into Switzerland and eventually ended up in Italy where he was not afraid to tangle even with the Pope. The only authority he would accept was Scripture and the true right. "We Irish," he wrote to Pope Gregory, "..are the disciples of St. Peter and St. Paul and of the other disciples who have written under the dictation of the Holy Spirit. We receive nothing more than the apostolic and evangelical doctrine... With us it is not the person, it is the right which prevails." (quoted by C. H. Robinson, The Conversion of Europe, London; Longmans, Green, 1917, p. 197).

The papal mission to England at the end of the 6th century was of a different kind, but no less notable. It was ecclesiastical, not independent, and though it, too, had monastic connections, its missionary monks were not Irish but Benedictine. The story of the beginning of the mission is familiar. Pope Gregory I saw English slaves in the Roman market, and impressed by their golden hair and huge size exclaimed, "Angli sunt, angeli fiant" (They are Angles, but may they become angels). And he promptly commissioned a missionary expedition to England. He himself had once wanted to be a Benedictine monk, and the man he picked to head the mission was a Benedictine, Augustine (known as Augustine of Canterbury to distinguish him from the theologian Augustine of Hippo).

The English mission, unlike earlier Irish missionary work, was under direct papal authority, and Gregory took an active part in determining its missionary policies. Three significant missiological principles are stressed in the Pope's correspondence with the mission: First, the mission is to be church-centered and church-controlled. In

June 601 Gregory wrote to Augustine, granting him the right to "ordain bishops in twelve..places, to be subject to thy jurisdiction, with a view of a bishop of the city of London..receiving the dignity..from this holy and Apostolical See, which by the grace of God I serve". (quoted in B.J. Kidd, Documents Illustrative of the History of the Church, vol. iii, p. 41).

Gregory's second principle of missionary policy was the policy of accommodation. Do not condemn everything in the pagan English culture but "baptize" as much of it as possible, he instructed his missionaries, using it as a bridge to bring the English over into the Christian faith. In another letter that same year he wrote, "The temples of idols..should not be destroyed, but the idols that are in them should be . Let holy water be prepared and sprinkled in these temples.., since, if they are well built..they should be transferred from the worship of idols to the true God." He gives much the same advice concerning pagan rites and ceremonies. Let them keep them, he writes, but "in a changed form". "Let them no longer slay animals to the devil but..to the praise of God for their own eating, and return thanks to the giver of all for their fulness... For it is undoubtedly impossible to cut away everything at once from hard hearts, since one who strives to ascend to the highest place must rise by steps or paces, and not by leaps." (Ibid, p. 42 f.)

His third principle was one we have already observed in earlier centuries. The Christian mission was to be directed toward the conversion of kings and rulers. We shall note this point in greater detail later. But whatever the merits or demerits of the third principle, Pope Gregory's letters give us, as Stephen Neill points out, "almost the first example since the days of Paul of a carefully planned and calculated mission" (Hist. of Missions, p. 67) the success of which can be measured by the fact that only this week when a new Archbishop of Canterbury was enthroned, he was hailed as the 100th successor in direct line of Augustine of Canterbury, Pope Gregory's first missionary to England.

Moreover, when in the 7th century at the Synod of Whitby the Celtic and Roman churches were brought together, the combination of Irish enthusiasm and Roman organization sent a fresh wave of Anglo-Saxon missionaries to plant their Benedictine monasteries deep in the pagan forest of the Frisians, the Saxons and the Germans and assure the completion of the conversion of Europe. The biographies of the most eminent of these pioneers (The Life of St. Willibrord by Alcuin, The Life of St. Boniface by Willibald, The Letters of St. Boniface, The Hodoeporicon of St. Willibald by Huneberc, The Life of St. Sturm by Eigil, The Life of St. Leoba by Rudolf, and the Life of St. Lebuin), all written by their 8th century contemporaries, have been translated and published in one volume be C. H. Talbot, The Anglo-Saxon Missionaries in Germany (N.Y., Sheed & Ward, 1954).

It is true that the principle of accommodation was an important part of papal missionary strategy, that this was almost always held within limits, and pagan practices, where they were considered to compromise the purity of the faith were severely condemned. The most

famous illustration of this in this period is the story of Boniface cutting down the sacred oak at Geismar. Here is the account from Willibald's Life of St. Boniface: (The date is 723 A.D.).

"Some (of the Hessians) continued secretly, others openly, to offer sacrifices to trees and springs, to inspect the entrails of victims; some practiced divination, legerdemain and incantations; some turned their attention to auguries, auspices and other sacrificial rites;... Others, of a more reasonable character, forsook all the profane practices of heathenism and committed none of these crimes. With the counsil and advice of the latter persons, Boniface in their presence attempted to cut down, at a place called Gaesmere, a certain oak of extraordinary size called by the pagans of olden times the Oak of Jupiter. Taking his courage in his hands (for a great crowd of pagans stood by watching and bitterly cursing in their hearts the enemy of the gods), he cut the first notch. But when he had made a superficial cut, suddenly the oak's vast bulk, shaken by a mighty blast of wind from above, crashed to the ground shivering its topmost branches into fragments in its fall. As if by the express will of God.. the oak burst asunder into four parts.. At the sight of this extraordinary spectacle the heathens who had been cursing ceased to revile and began, on the contrary, to believe and bless the Lord. Thereupon the holy bishop took counsel with the brethren, built an oratory from the timber of the oak and dedicated it to St. Peter..." (C. H. Talbot, op. cit. p. 45 f.

B. Kings and Rulers.

Perhaps the most questionable feature of the missionary strategy of this period, as also in the first five hundred years, was its emphasis on converting nations through the influence of ruling kings and princes. All too often the conversion of kings was more political than spiritual, and their influence on behalf of the Christian church was more often exerted through secular pressures than through gospel evangelism.

In Scotland, much of the Christian advance of Columba's Irish monks, despite their evangelistic zeal, was due to the fact that Columba himself was a prince, dealing with clan chiefs who were his own relatives. England was reached through princes like Oswald, King of Northumbria, and Ethelbert, King of Kent, the first Christian king among the Anglo-Saxons. (Latourette, ii, p. 69). France, the German tribes, Bulgaria, Poland, Russia and the Scandinavian countries were all Christianized through their rulers, and Christian kings, however nominal may have been their conversion often took Christian mission into their own hands.

Here is the celebrated account of how Charlemagne, King of France, set out to convert the pagan Saxons of Germany (772-802). The Life of Sturm, missionary abbot of Fulda records that "In the fourth year of King Charles's mxgx happy reign, the Saxons were a people savage and hostile to everyone, being much given to heathen rites. King Charles, ever devout and Christian, began to consider how he could win this people for Christ. He took council with the servants of God.. Then he collected a large army, called upon the name of Christ, and marched to Saxony: taking in his train all the bishops, abbots, presbyters and all the orthodox and faithful... After the king had arrived... partly by arms, partly by persuasion and partly by

agree that what reason vindicates is right." (Broderick, op. cit., p. 362, quoting Xavier's letter dated Nov. 5, 1549).

The organizing genius of Jesuit missions, however, was not so much Xavier as Alessandro Valignani, who was appointed Visitor of the India Mission (i.e. superintendent of all the far east missions) and followed Xavier to Asia in 1574. It was he who developed most clearly the Jesuit principle of conformity and accommodation to local cultures. In Japan, for example, he insisted that the Jesuits live in Japanese-style houses, and build their churches in Japanese architectural patterns, and strictly observe national rules of etiquette and behaviour. He taught the Jesuits to study thoroughly the political life and structure of the countries in which they laboured and to set as their objective the conversion of the center of political power, thereby opening the way to the conversion of the masses in a way that is reminiscent of the missiology of the middle ages with its focus on converting the nation through the rulers. (Broderick, p. 366 f.)

It was in 17th century China that the Catholics, under the brilliant pioneer Matthew Ricci, developed a consistent, coherent strategy of mission--a Jesuit missiology--for the conversion of Asia. Ricci entered China in 1583. He was not the first of his order in China, but he was the first to enter and stay. The first Catholic missionary in China proper (as distinct from Mongolia) had been the Franciscan, John of Monte Corvino, but the Franciscan missions were wiped out in the fall of the Mongol Yuan dynasty in 1368, and for the next nearly two hundred years, under the Ming dynasty, there was no Roman Catholic mission in China. Then came the Jesuits.

Jesuit missionary policy in China can be summarized briefly under the following points:

1. Linguistic preparation. Xavier had been no linguist, but when Alessandro Valignani was appointed Superintendent of the Mission, he demanded intensive preparatory training in the local languages in the Jesuit college at Macao. This included mastery of regional dialects as well as of the mandarin dialect of the intellectual class.

2. Indirect cultural approach, rather than evangelistic assault. Valignani's comprehenisve plan for the Christianization of the Far East was almost military in its strategy and discipline, but recognizing the immenisty and difficulty of the objective (the evangelization of the Chinese Empire) it was organized rather for a long-term siege than for direct frontal assault by confrontation evangelism. The Jesuits made no secret of their faith, but did not openly emphasize their missionary purpose. They showed great interest, rather, in Chinese culture, and when asked why they had come they would often reply that the fame of Chinese civilization had reached them in their own countries and that they had desired to see for themselves the wisdom and high moral development of the Chinese. At the same time they made sure of their own mastery of areas of learning in which the science of the West was superior to that of China, particularly in the field of the natural sciences in

about which Chinese intellectuals were insatiably curious. (Fulop-Miller, p. 236 f.) The Swiss watch and Italian geography and German astronomy were more widely used as missionary tools by the Jesuits than even the Bible. But they did make effective use of Christian literature in the form of beautifully written theological tracts, usually presented as philosophical discussions.

3. Sociological and political pragmatism. The Jesuits were pragmatists, not doctrinaire idealists in matters of mission policy. When they first entered China, wishing to gain recognition as men of piety and religion and not attract attention as foreigners, they took off their priestly robes and dressed as Buddhist monks. Later, when Ricci discovered that the Buddhists were not as greatly respected as he had thought, but were considered illiterate and lazy, he promptly ordered the missionaries to change their dress to that of a more prestigious class, the Confucian scholars. This same principle of pragmatism led them to direct their efforts toward the ruling classes rather than the masses, in the hope that thereby they could influence the Chinese court to open up the country freely to the propagation of the Christian religion. Ricci tried to reach the Ming Emperors, and after the fall of the Ming, his successors, Adam Schall and Verbiest, were at last successful in gaining the favor of the new Manchu rulers. The policy was finally vindicated when, in 1692, the Emperor K'ang Hsi, who was greatly impressed by Verbiest, granted an edict of toleration, and for the first time in some 300 years the Christian faith was again officially legal in China.

That victory, however, was soon followed by disaster. It was these same principles of accommodation and pragmatic adaptation to circumstances that soon embroiled the Jesuit missionaries in a controversy which was to divide the Catholic missions against each other, cripple the Chinese church, alienate the Imperial Court, and finally lead to the dissolution of the Jesuit Mission itself. It is called the Rites Controversy, and lasted for a hundred stormy years, from 1643 to 1742.

The main point at issue was whether Christians should be allowed to participate in the Chinese rites of ancestor worship. Other issues were also involved, such as what Chinese name should be used for the Christian God, and how far Christians might follow Chinese funeral customs, but the central issue was ancestor worship. The Jesuits said that Christians should adapt as far as possible to Chinese ways and "baptize" the rites for Christian use. But other Catholic missionary societies, notably the Dominicans, jealous of Jesuit success condemned the policy as a compromise with heathenism.

The Dominicans took their charges to the Pope. Was it right, they asked, for Chinese Christians to contribute to community sacrifices to pagan divinities; to attend official sacrifices if they concealed under their clothes a cross; to take part in sacrifices to Confucius and to honor the ancestral tablets? The answer of the Pope, in an edict of 1645, was "No". But the Jesuits at once objected that the Dominicans had misrepresented their policy, and explained in great detail to the Pope what they really taught. So in 1650 the Pope reversed himself, with a typical papal compromise, while the practices described as by the Dominicans were wrong, as described by the Jesuits theyx were all right. The edict permitted Chinese Christians to observe all civil and political ceremonies, and even "ceremonies in honor of the dead" provided that

their superstitious features were removed, and even permitting the superstitious ceremonies if Christians attending them at the same time disavowed the superstitious features with a public protestation of their faith. (Latourette, History of Christian Missions in China, N.Y., Macmillan, 1929, p. 135 ff.)

Despite the compromise, the controversy spread. Against the Jesuits were the Dominicans and the French Mission. For the Jesuits were the Franciscans, the Augustinians and the only Chinese bishop in China, a Dominican. In 1700 the Emperor K'ang Hsi tried to help his Jesuit friends with an announcement that "honors paid to Confucius" were only to Confucius as a legislator and not to Confucius as a religious leader; and that ancestral rites were only a "demonstration of love and a commemmoration of the good the dead had done during their lives". (Latourette, op. cit. p. 140). But though the Jesuits had the Emperor and most of the China Catholic missions on their side, in the Roman church it takes just one vote to win a controversy--the Pope's. And in 1704 the Jesuits lost that one important vote.

On Nov. 20, 1704, Pope Clement XI confirmed a decree of the Inquisition ruling against Jesuit policies in China. It contained three main points:

1. It forbade the use of Shang Ti, and T'ien as the Chinese name for God, but permitted the use of T'ien-Chu (Lord of Heaven).
2. It forbade Christians to take part in sacrifices to Confucius or to ancestors.
3. It forbade ancestral tablets marked "the throne of the spirit of the dead", but permitted ancestral tablets if they carried only the name of the dead ancestor.

The reaction was stormy and violent. The Pope sent envoys to try to enforce the decrees, and to persuade the Jesuits to accept them. The envoys failed. The Pope issued papal Bulls (decrees) threatening all who opposed his decision. But the Chinese Emperor, whose sympathies were all with the Jesuits, simply refused to allow the Bishop of Peking to post the Bulls or publicize them. He said, "If the Pope can't enforce a Bull against the Jansenists in Catholic France (referring to a dispute with Augustinianism there), how can he enforce one against Christians in non-Christian China." Not until 1742 was the Pope able to enforce his decision and demand absolute submission from Catholics in China, but by then he had so angered the Chinese Emperor that a wave of persecution set in from which the church did not recover for a hundred years. In 1717 all Chinese Christians had already been ordered to renounce the Christian faith.

Much can be said on both sides of the controversy. On the one hand the papal position protected the integrity and purity and uniqueness of the Christian faith, which is important. But on the other, it unavoidably stigmatized the Christian faith in China as foreign and un-Chinese; and it led directly to the break-up of the most successful missionary society the Catholics had ever had in China, the Jesuits. For its resistance against the Pope the Society of Jesus was dissolved by Rome in 1774. Whatever the merits on either side of the controversy, the net result was a hundred years of persecution and an abrupt end to church growth in China.

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INTRODUCTION TO MISSIOLOGY

Samuel H. Moffett

Introduction: A Chronology of Missions

Let me begin this course on Missiology, the science of missions, with an introductory outline of the history of missions to give you some historical hooks in chronological sequence on which you may hang the mass of facts and theories on which the science of missions is based. The classic outline of missions history is that given by Prof. Kenneth Scott Latourette of Yale in his massive, seven-volume History of the Expansion of Christianity. It divides the history of missions into eight major periods from the time of the apostles down to the end of World War II in 1945.

I. The First Advance (1 - 500 A.D.)

"The first great geographic triumph of Christianity," writes Dr. Latourette, "was the winning of the cultural area into which it was born, the Mediterranean world" of the Roman Empire. It sub-divides into two sections:

A. 1-313 A.D. The Winning of Freedom for the Faith.
B. 313-529 A.D. The Completion of the Conversion of the Empire.

II. The Great Recession (500 - 950 A.D.)

Although in this period there were great missionary successes, notably the extension of the faith in Western and Northern Europe from England to Scandinavia, and the remarkable missions of the Nestorians across Asia as far as China (635 A.D.), nevertheless two decisive factors made it a period of net loss for the faith rather than gain. These two were the fall of the Roman Empire, and the rise and spread of Islam. The number of people in Europe that entered the church between the years 500 and 1000 (some would say 1500), was equalled by the number lost to Christianity in Africa and Asia during the same period. (Freitag, 20th C. Atlas of Christian World, p. 60)

III. The Second Advance (950-1350 A.D.)

The tenth century saw a revival of Roman Catholic zeal and missionary outreach, particularly through the reforms and disciplines of the monastic movement (CLUNY REFORMS). The Nestorians in this same period showed a revival (they showed) promise of winning the Mongol Empire to the faith, and the Eastern Orthodox church made great advances in (Ninth) winning Russia to Christianity.

Iv. The Second Recession (1350-1500 A.D.)

The dark ages immediately preceding the Reformation brought a period of decline to Christian missions not only in Roman Catholicism, but also in Eastern Orthodoxy and (in) Asian Nestorianism. The decline and corruption of the papacy weakened Catholicism at its heart; the rise of

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(1453)
the Turks and the fall of Constantinople seemed almost fatal to Eastern Orthodoxy and reversed the momentum of expansion from the forward though misguided pressure of the Crusades to decline and defeat. Even the Mongol Empire, never won by the Nestorians but always friendly, fell and Nestorianism virtually vanished with it. succeed by anti-Mongol Ming dynasty.

V. Advance in the Reformation and Counter-Reformation (1500-1700 A.D.)

Though the Reformation Protestants achieved little in the way of geographic expansion in this period, they laid the spiritual foundations of the great Protestant achievements of the next period. Most of the expansion in ~~the~~ This period was Roman Catholic missionary movement into Asia and the Americas, taking advantage of Spanish and Portuguese leadership in the Age of Discovery. Protestants to a lesser extent followed the Dutch into southern and southeast Asia, and the British into North America.

to Ceylon

VI. The Pause (1700-1800)

Political and intellectual revolution checked the spread of Christianity in the 18th century. The fall of Spain and the interdiction (prohibition) of ~~the~~ the Jesuits, as well as the French Revolution all combined to check the zeal and effectiveness of Roman Catholicism for outreach. The rise ~~of~~ of rationalism in the so-called Age of Enlightenment dulled the edge of Protestant enthusiasm for mission.

VII. The Great Century (1800-1914)

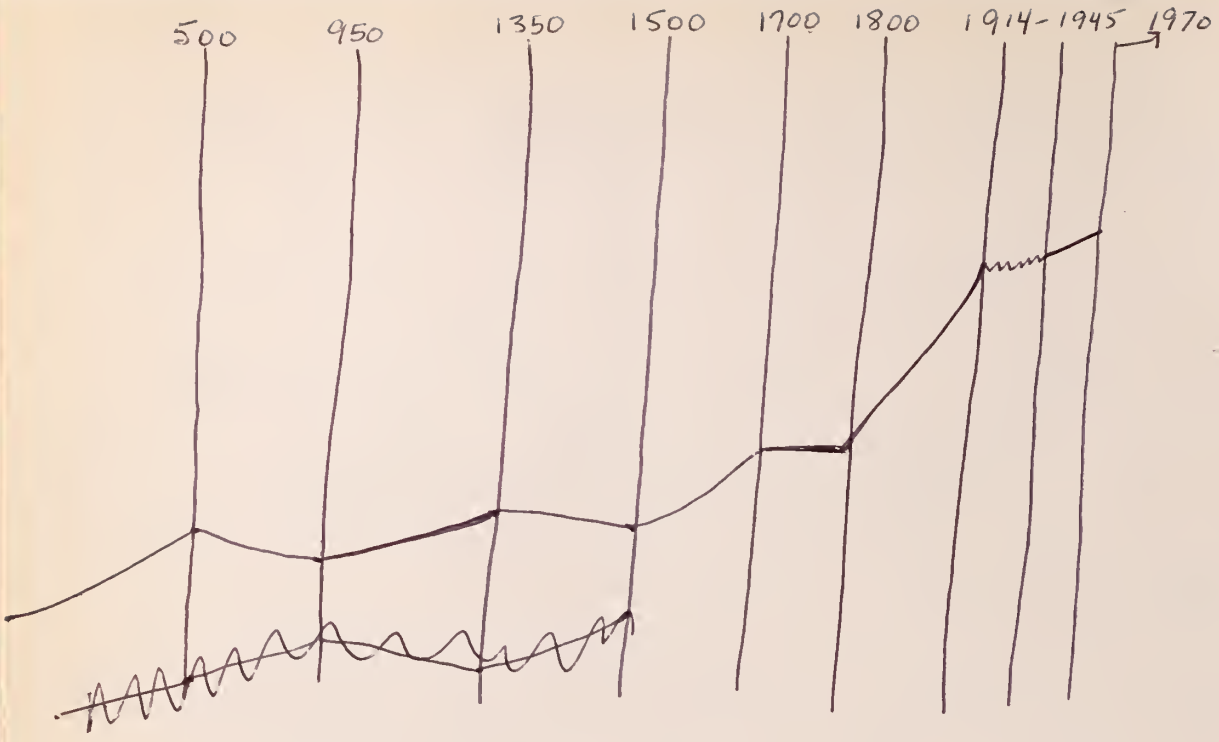
The modern missionary movement, which begins roughly in ~~the~~ the last decade of the 18th century (1792) with William Carey, ushered in what Latourette calls "the great century" of Christian expansion. "The outpouring of missionary life," he says, "was amazing". "Never before in a period of equal length had Christianity or any other religion penetrated for the first time as large an area as it had in the nineteenth century." (Latourette, vol. V, p. 468 f.) Three of his seven volumes of missions history are devoted to the 19th century, and he concludes, "Never had the faith won adherents among so many peoples and in so many countries. Never had it exerted so wide an influence upon the human race. Measured by geographic extent and the effect upon mankind as a whole, the nineteenth century was the greatest century thus far in the history of Christianity." (Vol. VI, p. 442).

VIII. Advance through Storm (1914-1945)

Beginning with World War I, the Christian faith suffered a series of world-shaking shocks that might well have been expected to bring in another period of recession, but in his final volume Latourette assesses the period from 1914 to 1945 as a period of lessening advance, but advance nevertheless. He sees hope in signs of a possible shift from a narrow-based Western Christian mission to a world-based world mission. In this period the percentage of non-Westerners in the Christian church doubled.

IX. The 25 Unbelievable Years (1945-1970)

Dr. Ralph Winter of Fuller Theological Seminary has added a sequel to Latourette's chart of Christian expansion, and closes this chronological survey on a note of rising hope. The Christian church is still advancing and expanding.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INTRODUCTION TO MISSIOLOGY
Samuel H. Moffett

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Lecture #2

II. From the Early Church to the Fall of Rome

Introduction. The science of missions, or missiology as it is now being called, is still fighting for a place in the recognized theological curriculum. It is a new science found neither in the early church nor in the church of the Middle Ages. As for the Reformation period, the Reformers did not even seem to believe in foreign missions for the most part, much less have any science of missions. Even the modern missionary movement failed to develop a systematic, recognized missiology until the 20th century, and still ~~xxx xxx~~ in much of the curriculum of theological education, missions courses are deprecated as being essentially more promotional than ~~xxx~~ academic, more institutional than scientific, and better suited to winning recruits or raising money for the mission field than for objective, reasoned assessment of the church's purpose and strategy in the world.

In this lecture we will survey what we can find of a science of missions in the church from the apostolic age to the fall of the Roman Empire in the west: -- (Constantinople fell in 1453. Rome fell in about 500 A.D.)

. Missiology in the Early Church (1-500). This is the period that Latourette covers in his first volume, ~~xxx~~ dealing with the first advance in Christian expansion.

[illegible]

Missiology in the Early Church.

It is often said that the early church had no science of missions. "The apostles," said Canon Green flatly at the Lausanne Conference in 1973, "had no missionary strategy", and he called the churches today to emphasize the power of the Holy Spirit rather than techniques of missionary methods. In the New Testament there appears no over-all carefully thought out plan to win the world in obedience to the Great Commission. As a matter of fact the apocryphal, third-century account of how the apostles divided the world among them for mission has them quite unscientifically drawing lots to determine which one will go to what part of the world, and this is not as far-fetched as it may sound. Consider the record in Acts of how they picked a successor to Judas Iscariot. At any rate, the New Testament clearly emphasizes that they were not led by human strategy but by the Spirit. J. H. Bavinck writes in his Introduction to the Science of Missions, "The ancient church conducted missionary work as though it were self-explanatory; it never asked: Why do we have missions? And it never subjected its methods to criticism. Its testimony was so spontaneous and natural that it had no need of a carefully thought out basis... It was only when questions of concern to the further progress of missions arose that the church felt the need of justifying its course of action." (p. xii).

But that is not all of the picture. The same Canon Green

1. Latourette - Vol I Hist. of the Exp of Xity - Vol. I
2. Roland Allen "Missionary Methods, St. Paul's or ours"
3. Mingana. The Early Spread of Xity in Central Asia + the Far East"
4. The Acts of Thomas in M.R. JAMES, Apocraphyl N.T. p. 364 ff.
5. T.S Smith Medieval Missions
6. Michael Green "Evangelism in the Early Church"

who said at Lausanne that the apostles had no strategy of mission, nevertheless describes their missionary methods at considerable length in his important book, Evangelism in the Early Church. He points out how they wisely used the synagogue meetings of the Jews as ready-made seed-beds for the gospel, and carefully rooted their preaching in Jewish culture and history (p. 194 f.). When they moved to mission among Gentiles they adapted themselves to open air preaching and started schools in the Greek fashion, like Paul's at Ephesus and Justin's at Rome (p. 197, 204). They recognized the importance of the home in spreading the faith and organized their first churches as house churches (p. 207 f.). They made wide use of literature, and even "invented an entirely new literary form, the Gospel, to carry their evangelistic message" (p. 229). As for missionary agents, the New Testament church made use of three different kinds: 1. Commissioned, ordained apostles; 2. Wandering, professional missionaries, or "~~apostles~~, messengers, of the churches" as Paul calls them in 2 Corinthians 8:23; and 3. Informal, amateur evangelists, the laymen and lay-women of the churches witnessing simply to unbelievers about Jesus Christ. (p. 172 ff.) The greater part of the missionary outraach of the early church was actually the work of these non-professional evangelists.

Now it is probably true that these missionary methods were not organized by the early church into a unified strategy of missions, but it is difficult to read the New Testament without coming to the conclusion that the Apostle Paul, at least, had not only a goal but a consistent strategy, if not a complete science, of missions. ~~In the modern technical sense~~. You should know one of the early great missiological books of the 20th century, Roland Allen's Missionary Methods: St. Paul's or Ours. In it he insists that Paul not only had a definite missionary strategy, but that Paul's methods were better than most modern missionary methods. I can only summarize briefly Allen's description of Paul's missiology:

1. He planned on a large scale, province by province not town by town.
2. He concentrated on strategic cities, intending that the Christians from the city churches would evangelize the province.
3. He picked out special classes of people as more open to the gospel and concentrated on them,- Greeks instead of Jews, for example. But it is important to note that he did not aim at any one economic class of people.
4. He trusted his new converts to the guidance of the Holy Spirit, and left the new churches to their leadership and financial support.

(Quote - p.5)

After ~~Leaving~~ the New Testament, the age of the church fathers contains only scattered references to missionary outreach and a few incidental notices of missionary methods. The great missionary accomplishment of the peridd was the winning of the Roman Empire. But this was not cross-cultural missions. The world of the church fathers was limited to the world of Roman culture, and no science of missions in the cross-cultural sense was developed.

However, within the Roman world, three major sub-cultures presented a series of challenges to the spread of the Christian faith: the Jewish, the Greek and the Latin. The earliest Christian mission was aimed at the conversion of the Jews. But about the year 100 A.D., following the earlier lead of St. Paul and his call to the Gentiles, the ~~missionary~~ center of the Christian mission had shifted from the Jewish to the Greek world. Hope of converting the Jews as a whole nation faded away, and ~~by~~ by about the year 200 A.D. the Christian church had become more Hellenistic than Jewish. It had become an urban, Greek phenomenon. But then another shift occurred. The church's missionary outreach, again following the example of the Apostle Paul two hundred years earlier, focussed on the center of power, the Latin world of Rome. And here it won its greatest victory, humanly speaking, with the conversion of the Emperor himself, Constantine.

By the end of the first five hundred years the Empire was not only officially Christian it was actively anti-pagan. The sons of Constantine ordered the sacrifices stopped and the temples closed. (Latourette I, p. 175 ff.) In 529 A.D. the Emperor Justinian I closed the ancient schools of philosophy at Athens, an act symbolic of the end of public acceptance of Christianity's greatest intellectual rival, Greek philosophy. (Ibid, p. 66). → Big turning point

Most encouraging of all, beyond the edges of the Empire the Christian faith was beginning to spread across the world in true cross-cultural mission. The Nestorians were reaching east across Asia as far as what is now Afghanistan, and south as far as India and Ceylon. Frumentius, a captive slave in Abyssinia (Ethiopia), converted the king and brought the church into black Africa as early as 350 A.D. Ulfilas took the gospel north of the Danube to the savage Goths. It had reached far-off England when the British islands were still a part of the Empire, and when the Empire withdrew, the faith stayed and spread under missionaries like Patrick of Ireland.

But it is impossible to piece together any consistent pattern of missionary policy and strategy for the period. The church historians were more interested in the lives of the martyrs or the battles against heresies. They are not very reliable on missions. Eusebius may have been the father of church history, but he gives a very dubious version of the beginnings of missionary advance into Asia. He found, he says, a letter from Jesus Christ himself to Abgar, king of Edessa, in the city archives of Edessa, answering a letter from the king, and promising to send him a missionary after the ascension. He goes on to assume, without any real justification, that the apostles really did fulfill the Great Commission and reach the whole world with the gospel. They did not.

The church Theologians ~~Fathers in their theological writings~~ produced no science of missions, but only occasional passages of missionary advice. Chrysostom (345-407), the golden-voiced preacher and patriarch of Constantinople, sent missionaries to the Goths north of the Danube and urged them above all not just to preach but to live the Christian faith. "There would be no more heathen if we would be true Christians", he said (I Ep. to Tim. Homily X, quoted in Latourette, I, p. 192).

The great Augustine (354-430) cautions those who would teach unbelievers Christianity to do it in easy stages, not all at once. Begin with what is easiest for them to understand, he says, life after death, rewards for the good and punishment for the bad; and then go on to teach about God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and the incarnation, death and resurrection of Jesus. (Augustine, On Catechizing the Unlearned). Augustine also, however, came to the dangerous conclusion that political coercion was sometimes allowable as a tool in Christian mission, saying, for example, that the pagans around his North African diocese should be punished with death if they refused to become Christians (Ep. 93:2 and 185:6, quoted in C. H. Robinson, History of Christian Missions, N.Y. 1915, p. 18), and interpreting the parable of the great supper, with its command "Compel them to come in" as justifying the use of force in conversion. (Ibid).

If there is any one pattern of missionary strategy that emerges as dominant in this first period of Christian expansion (outside the New Testament), it is the doubtful principle that the nation is best reached through the ruler. The missionary objective is conceived of in terms of national Christianization through conversion of the king. Perhaps this developed as a natural deduction from the quick Christianization of the Roman Empire after the conversion of Constantine, but the pattern can be found even earlier than that. The first Christian king was not Constantine but Abgar of Edessa, converted probably about 200 A.D. According to tradition, his entire little border kingdom of Osrhoene, between the Roman and Persian Empires, quickly followed the king's example, making it the first officially Christian state in history. In the traditional acoount of the beginnings of Christianity in India under the Apostle Thomas the same pattern is repeated. The King, Gundaphar, is converted, and all his people become Christian. So also Africa. The success of Frumentius in Abyssinia (Ethiopia) is directly linked to his conversion of King Ezana. In Ireland it is Patrick's conversion of the warring kings that makes Ireland the Christian Isle. Even in Arabia, which was Christian before it ever became Moslem, the secret of church growth was the conversion of the kings, or sheiks, like that of the King of the Himyarites by the missionary Theophilus. In the same way the conversion of Armenia under Gregory the Illuminator begins with the conversion of King Tiridates.

There is no similar dominance of any one pattern in the calling or sending of missionaries in this period. Some were impelled by a deep, personal call of the Holy Spirit, in visions or inner conviction, like Gregory of Armenia and Patrick of Ireland. Others were sent and commissioned by the church through officials and bishops, like Thaddaeus of Edessa and Theophilus of Arabia. There were others who were dragged almost unwillingly to the mission field as slaves or captives, like Thomas to India, or Frumentius to Abyssinia. And sometimes the agent of conversion was no missionary at all, but a layman or laywomen, as in the conversion of Clovis, King of the Franks.

Because the baptism of Clovis brings this period to an end

Lecture #3

III. From the Fall of Rome to the Reformation.

As we saw in last week's lecture, the great accomplishment of the earliest period of Christian missions, the first five hundred years (1 - 500 A.D.) was the winning of the Roman Empire. But that victory was somewhat clouded by the nominal nature of the conversion of vast sections of the Empire. Too much of it had been won from the top down as much of the church's apparent missionary strategy had been directed toward the winning of the nations by the baptism of the rulers.

In the second period of Christian missions, in the thousand years from 500 to 1500 A.D., we find two important new developments: first, a deepening of the spiritual base of Christian expansion through the rise of missionary monasticism; and, second, an acceleration of growth in cross-cultural missions outside the Roman Empire.

This period has been divided into three sections by Prof. Kenneth Scott Latourette in his classic History of the Expansion of Christianity, volume II, The Thousand Years of Uncertainty, A.D. 500 to 1500:

1. The Great Recession (500-950 A.D.), which resulted from the fall of Rome and the rise of Islam.
2. The Second Advance (950-1350 A.D.), the roots of which had been planted by the invigorating influence and reforms of the monastic movement.
3. The Second Recession (1350-1500 A.D.), as the papacy became corrupted and Constantinople fell to the Turks.

For this brief survey, however, we shall consider the entire thousand years as one period.

The great accomplishment of the period was the conversion of Europe. The church advanced consistently northwards across that continent all through the millennium from 500 to 1500. In the 6th century the gospel won the Franks; in the 6th and 7th centuries the Angles and Saxons and Celts of Britain. In the 8th century the faith moved into northeastern Europe along the Rhine. The 9th and 10th centuries brought the Slavs of central Europe and the Balkans to Christianity. Hungary, Denmark, Norway and Russia moved massively toward Christianity in the 11th century; and Poland and Sweden in the 12th. The Estonians, the Prussians and the Lithuanians became Christian in the 13th and 14th centuries.[1] Less consistent, but more dramatic, were Christian gains in Asia, where the Nestorians alternately rose and fell under Persians, Arabs and Mongols until they were finally virtually wiped out by Tamurland, the last of the Mongols, and the rising power of the Turks.

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1. See Latourette, vol. II, p. 20 f.

with what would seem to be a triumphant vindication of the policy of making the conversion of the ruler the first aim of missionary strategy, it deserves attention in some detail. The primary source is a history written in the 6th century, the ten books of The History of the Franks by Gregory of Tours. (Louie)

The conversion of Clovis in 496 A.D. was a turning point in the history of the expansion of Christianity into northern Europe. The Franks (ancestors of the French) were a tribe of German barbarians moving, as Rome declined, like a scourge of locusts into Roman Gaul (now France and Belgium). In the middle of the 5th century they briefly sided with the Romans to defeat Attila the Hun, but then turned against Christian Rome. Clovis (466-511) became King of the Eastern Franks when he was sixteen, a young and savage barbarian chief fighting against other German tribes to the north and against Rome to the south. But in 493 he married a Christian princess from Burgundy, Chlotilda. A few years later in a fierce battle he was almost routed, and facing defeat and certain death he cried out, "Jesus Christ, whom my wife Chlotilda praises as the Son of the living God," help me. If you will only help me win, I will believe and be baptized. Almost at that very moment the enemy king fell in the battle and his troops fled in panic. Clovis kept his promise. He came home and told his queen he was ready to become a Christian, not only himself, but up to 5000 of his troops with him.

The question for missiologists in all this is, How real was the conversion, and if it was only nominal, as seems likely, of how much lasting value is such a pattern of Christian missionary expansion through political structures which are only nominally Christianized. As with Constantine two hundred years earlier, so with Clovis, the issue is the same, and it has been hotly debated. On the credit side is the strong Christian influence of Clovis' wife. Christian queens were perhaps even more important in the conversion of Europe than Christian kings. Also to the good is the fact that Clovis took instruction in the faith from a priest before baptism. But on the negative side is the strong element of pagan superstition in the battle-field conversion, and his apparent ignorance of the simplest Christian realities at his baptism. As he came into the cathedral which had been lavishly decorated for the occasion, he was awed by its splendor and whispered to the bishop, "Is this the Christian heaven you have been telling me about?" But the most serious criticism of all is that his life after baptism showed little signs of his conversion. A German historian, Rettberg, has said, "His blackest deeds were done after his baptism" (quoted in T. S. Smith, Mediaeval Missions, p. 23). He was probably the most wicked Christian king in history, butchering his own family, looting towns, massacring whole villages, men, women and children + babies.

This so-called "conversion" of the Franks is often cited as a lesson in the superficiality of a missionary strategy that stresses baptism more than conversion, and national Christianization above the transformation of the individual by personal repentance and faith and trust in Christ alone. Nevertheless, the stubborn historical fact remains: as the baptism of Constantine turned the history of the Roman world decisively and permanently toward the Christian faith, so with the baptism of Clovis, France became Christian (in name, at least) for the next 1300 years. It is a reminder that perhaps God can use even the inadequacies of our missionary methods for His own glory.

It may help to have a brief chronology of some of the important names and events of the period:

6th c.	529.	Benedict lays foundations of Western monasticism at Monte Cassino.
	549.	Hephthalite Huns (Afghanistan) receive Nestorian bishop.
	c. 550.	Christians in Ceylon (Taprobane).
	563.	Columba leads Irish monks to Scotland (Iona).
	573.	Columban, from Ireland to Europe (Luxeuil).
	596.	Pope Gregory I sends Augustine to southern England.
7th c.	635.	Alopen, first Nestorian missionary to China.
	c. 640.	(Moslem conquests begin)
	c. 645.	Aidan, missionary from Scotland to northern England.
	678.	Wilfrid begins Anglo-Saxon missions to northern Europe
	690.	Willibrord, "apostle to the Netherlands".
8th c.	719.	Boniface, from England to Germany.
	772.	Charlemagne begins forceful conversion of the Saxons.
9th c. c.	826.	Anskar, from France (Luxeuil) to Denmark.
	861.	Cyril and Methodius, from Constantinople begin the conversion of the Slavs (eastern Europe).
	864.	Boris, king of the Bulgars, baptized.
10th c.	910.	Monastic revival and reform at Cluny.
	966.	Duke Mieszka of Poland baptized.
	987.	Baptism of Vladimir of Kiev begins conversion of Russia.
	995.	King Olaf Tryggvason makes Norway Christian.
11th c.	1007.	A prince of the Kerait is baptized (Central Asia)
	1008.	Olof Skotkonung, first Christian king of Sweden.
	1073.	Pope Gregory VII (Hildebrand) reforms the papacy.
	1096.	The first crusade.
12th c.	1190.	Nestorians return to China through Keraits, under Mongols.
13th. c.	1209.	Franciscan order founded.
	1215.	Dominican order founded.
	1245.	John of Plano Carpini, first R.C. missionary to China.
	1292.	Raymond Lull, missionary to the Moslems.
	1294.	John of Montecorvino, first R.C. archbishop of Peking.
14th c.	1395.	Conquests of Tamerland begin to destroy Asian Christianity.
15th c.	1453.	Constantinople falls to the Turks.

A. Monastic Missions.

"In the conversion of Europe," writes Prof. Roland Bainton of Yale, "three Christian institutions were at work: monasticism, the papacy, and the civil state. Of the three, monasticism was the most important because monks were missionaries, whereas popes and kings were not." (Christendom: A Short Hist. of Christianity and Its Impact on Western Civilization. vol. I. N.Y.: Harpers, 1966. p. 136)

Monasticism, like Christianity itself, came from Asia to the West. It was brought into western Europe by Martin of Tours about 362 A.D., and was moulded into its distinctively western form by St. Benedict whose monastery at Monte Cassino, founded in 529 A.D., was not originally designed for missions but rather for the glory of God and the cultivation of a spiritual life. There is, however, a explosive, outreaching quality in spiritual power, and what were at first only scattered communities of introverted, withdrawn, praying monks became soon, as Bainton puts it, "the church's militia in the winning of the West". (Ibid, p. 138)

In four important ways the monasteries were well suited as agents of Christian mission. First, they were spiritually revived and deeply committed communities in an age of secularized Christianity when too much of the Empire had been only nominally converted. Second, they were centers of learning, Biblical ~~as well as~~ even more than classical, preserving the Bible and the writings of the fathers when so much of the heritage of the past was being swept away by the barbarian invaders. Third, they were self-supporting and unencumbered with families, living on the land wherever they were gathered or were sent, at a time when centralized, papal missions would have been impossible to maintain due to the collapse of the financial structures of the Empire. Finally, they had a discipline, which is an almost indispensable mark of a successful Christian mission.

Two types of monasticism spearheaded the Christian conversion of Europe. The first was Irish--enthusiastic, independent and extremely mobile. It resembles in some respects the missionary strengths of modern faith missions. The second was Benedictine--more disciplined, organized, moderate and obedient to central ecclesiastical authority, like modern denominational missions (though the comparison is, of course, over-simplified).

The great period of Irish monastic missions was the 6th and 7th centuries. The Irish (Scots, or Celts as they were then called) were the pioneer missionaries in nearly all of Europe north of the Alps, and in all of Saxon England north of the Thames. It is important to remember that since the withdrawal of the Roman legions from the British Isles in the early fifth century (410-440), the Celtic church had grown up independent of the Roman papacy. Irish monasticism, therefore, was more free of church control, less restrained by vows and rules, and, in a curiously indigenous way, was rather closely tied to families and clans. The Irish monasteries, says one historian of monasticism, were nothing but "clans reorganized under a religious form" (Count de Montalembert, The Monks of the West from St. Benedict to St. Bernard, 7 vols., Edinburgh, 1841. iii, p. 86)

gifts, he converted the greater part of the people.. entrusting (them) to the care of the blessed Sturm..." Given the methods used in this royal mission, it is not surprising to find later on in the record of a combined military and missionary operation, that "the Saxons, that depraved and perverse people, abandoned the faith.. gave themselves over to vain errors; and collecting an army," broke out in rebellion. (Vita Sturmi, cc. 22,23, in E.J. Kidd, op. cit., iii, p. 77).

Alcuin, the king's wise counselor, after a few more such unhappy missionary experiences in campaigns against the Huns, finally found the courage to give Charlemagne some advice on missionary strategy. But it is not, as we would expect today, a rebuke on the king's use of force to convert pagans. In the middle ages, that was too common and too well-accepted a practice to arouse disagreement. In essence, what Alcuin suggests is that the king is expecting too much from his new converts, and he quotes Augustine (from On Catechizing the Unlearned) who advises instruction in the faith in easy stages. Augustine had also, you remember, condoned the use of force in conversion.

This prevailing reliance in the Middle Ages on political and military means for Christian mission led straight to the greatest missionary mistake in Christian history, the Crusades. From the first call of Pope Urban II in 1096 to the kings and princes of Christendom to unite to drive the infidels from the Holy Land-- "An accursed race.. a barbarous people estranged from God has invaded the lands of the Christians.. They have torn down the churches of God.. (They) befoul the altars with the filth out of their bodies.. torturing Christians.. bending their heads to try if their swordsman can cut through their necks with a single blow of a naked sword.. ravishing the women .." (Harold Lamb, The Crusades, N.Y. 1930. pp. 39 f.)--to the fall of Jerusalem in 1099 when the victorious crusaders poured like Christian wolves through the streets trampling on severed Moslem heads and hands and riding through human blood that swirled above the fetlocks of their horses (ibid, p. 236 f.)--from ~~first to last~~ the first crusade to the last in 1271, neither the motivation nor the method of this kind of Christian mission was anything but "irreparable disaster", as Bishop Neill calls it. (Hist. of Christian Missions, p. 179).

C. New Voluntary Societies.

The end of the crusades, however, brought a new spirit into the Roman church out of which grew new missionary societies and a new positive direction to Christian missions. Compare the militant war-cry of Pope Urban which roused Europe to a holy war against Islam with the gentle protest of Raymond Lull (d. 1315), the first to give his life to mission to the Moslems. "They (i.e. the crusaders) think they can conquer by force of arms," he wrote. "It seems to me that the victory can be won in no other way than as thou, O Lord Christ, didst seek to win it, by love and prayer and self-sacrifice". (quoted in C. H. Robinson, History of Christian Missions, N.Y., Scribners, 1915, p. 19)

The new mood in missions was spear-headed by the strange but moving example of St. Francis of Assissi who became convinced, about the time of the Fifth Crusade, that the Moslems remained heathen not because they had not been conquered on the battlefield, but because the gospel had never properly been presented to them in their minds and hearts. Even before Lull, Francis made three missionary journeys to try to do this himself--to Morocco in 1212, to Spain in 1214, and to Egypt in 1219. In Egypt he managed to win his way even into the presence of the Sultan and preached before him. It matters not, really, that his mission failed, or that his missionary methods were almost ridiculously unsound. "Kindle a fire," he said to the Sultan, almost like Elijah before Ahab, "and let your priests and me enter it together and let God determine whether the true faith be on my side or theirs." (Thomas Smith, Mediaeval Missions, Edinburgh 1880, p. 225). The Sultan refused, of course, and Francis returned without results. But more important than the success or failure of his mission was its landmark position, as Bishop Neill has pointed out (op. cit. p. 116), marking a "new spirit in the Christian world", and "a notable shift... in the missionary methods of the Christian Churches. For five centuries at the heart of the missionary enterprise had stood the monastery.. From now on and for two centuries the central place will be held by the two great Orders of Friars: the Franciscans and the Dominicans."

The earlier monastic orders, such as the Irish and the Benedictines, were primarily monastic and only secondarily missionary. The two new orders, Franciscans and Dominicans were first and foremost missionary organizations (Latourette, ii, p. 320 ff). Franciscans emphasized poverty, lay witness and martyrdom. Dominicans, who called themselves the Order of Preachers, emphasized scholarship and the preaching of the clergy. Both societies developed specific organizations for the conduct of foreign missions. The Societas fratrum peregrinantium propter Christum of the Dominicans centered its work in monasteries in the Near East. The Franciscans formed a society with the same name but with wider scope and organized their missions into six territories, each under a vicar: three among the Mongols, and one each in Morocco, the northern Balkans, and what is now the Ukraine and Romania.

The Franciscans, who have sent out more missionaries than any other order except the Jesuits, later divided their Mongol territories

into four ecclesiastical units: Kipchak, Persia, Turkestan and China. They were the first Roman Catholic missionaries to reach China. The first contact was made by John of Plano Carpini (or Pian de Carpine) who carried a letter from the Pope to the Mongol Emperor Kuyuk Khan in 1246. Another Franciscan, William of Rubruck, reaching the court of Mangu Khan in 1255 near Karakorum, actually witnessed to the Emperor who was interested in all religions but apparently remained Shamanist. Neither of these men reached China proper. That honor was reserved for a third Franciscan, John of Montecorvino, who arrived in Peking in 1294, built a church, and by 1305 reported that he had won as many as 6000 converts.

It is not surprising, however, that it was the Dominicans, with their emphasis on scholarship, who contributed most to the theology and science of missions in the 13th century. Raymond of Penaforte (d. 1275) enlisted the support of the kings of Castile and Aragon (Spain) in starting schools for the study of Arabic and Hebrew to train missionaries to Moslems and Jews. Even more important, perhaps, he persuaded the great Thomas Aquinas to write what Latourette calls "a handbook for missionaries" (ii, p. 314), the Summa contra Gentiles. This may well be the first book on missiology (missionary theology and science) ever specifically written for that purpose. In essence, Thomas concludes that a different approach will be needed to present the gospel to complete pagans, like the Moslems, than that which can be used with those who are nearer to the faith, like Jews (or heretics). Jews at least will accept the Old Testament, and most heretics acknowledge the authority of the New Testament as well as the Old Testament. Therefore the Bible is the best authoritative approach to them. But Moslems, he points out, do not recognize the authority of the Bible. By what means, then, can they be reached? The only avenue of appeal to complete pagans, says Aquina, is reason. Natural reason is the only possible approach to them, he argues, "for it (i.e. reason) demands the assent of all". (Summa contra Gentiles, 1,2)

This was the beginning of a serious Catholic attempt to develope a science of mission. It was accelerated by the discovery, in the 15th and 16th centuries, of whole new worlds of pagan peoples. The direct contact of Catholic empires with these pagan lands stimulated Catholic thinkers like Joannes Azorius (1535-1603); Antonius Posevinus (1534-1611) and others to develope more complete and systematic theologies of missions--but that belongs properly in our consideration of the next period: The Reformation and the Counter-Reformation.

INTRODUCTION TO MISSIOLOGY
Samuel H. Moffett

IV. Reformation and Counter-Reformation

As we have already seen, in the first fifteen hundred years of its existence, the Christian church, although it did in some measure answer the call of Christ's Great Commission to preach the gospel to all the world, nevertheless failed to develope any systematic theology of mission or comprehensive strategy to evangelize the world. From Jerusalem to Geneva, the outreach of the church to untouched nations and cultures was at best spontaneous, and at worst only an incidental and sporadic activity on the periphery of the church's main concerns.

In the 16th century, however, the picture began to change, and one segment of the church at least--the Roman Catholic church--began to reach out not only with zeal but with an organized strategy to the whole world. The new impetus to mission was undoubtedly triggered by the dawn of the age of discovery which opened up whole new worlds of nations long lost beyond the bounds of Christendom.

A. Roman Catholic Missions.

Catholic missionary activity and strategy in this period took three forms: first, missions by Catholic governments; and second, missions by voluntary societies or orders; and third, missions by the central church organization in Rome.

1. Missions by Catholic governments. The age of discovery made Spain and tiny Portugal the great new powers of Christendom. It also made them radiating centers of Catholic missions, for when Prince Henry the Navigator (1394-1460), later King of Portugal, sent out the first of his almost annual fleets of exploration, in 1418, to find India and open up the sea lanes around the dark continent, Africa, his dominating motive was not scientific and humanist, but religious. He was the Grand Master of the Order of Christ, a crusading order, which he turned from military conquest toward commercial and religious contact with the heathen. When a brisk trade in African slaves began to build up, he proved that the religious factor counted more with him than the commercial, and he promptly put an end to the practice of slave-raiding. (W. L. Langer, An Encyclopaedia of World History, Boston, 1940, p. 363)

Popes were only too glad to turn over to the Catholic princes of these two great maritime powers the obligation of the church for foreign missions. The papacy had no organization for missions, and was soon too completely absovbed in countering the enormous threat of the Reformation at home to think about primitive tribes or heathen civilizations on the suddenly discovered other side of the world. The technical term for the transfer of missionary rights and obligations from the church to the government is padroado,

or royal patronage. It was a papal grant which included both privileges and responsibilities. The privileges embraced the right to colonize non-Christian areas and to appoint and exercise authority over colonial bishops. The major responsibility was the duty of christianizing the newly discovered territories. In

In 1455 Pope Nicholas V granted padroado to the Portuguese, principally for Africa. In 1493/4 Pope Alexander VI granted the same "royal privilege" to Spain, principally for the Americas. But in one of the most famous accidents of history, the line drawn by the pope between the Portuguese and Spanish spheres of influence, which he thought ran through the ocean, turned out to pass right through Brazil, which jutted farther east than anyone realized, and so gave Brazil to Portugal and blocked off the Spanish from the true route to India. (Cambridge Mediaeval History, Cambridge, 1959, vol. 8, p. 525). So the Kings of Portugal became the church's agents of missions to Africa, India, the coasts of Asia and Brazil, while the Kings of Spain held similar responsibilities for the New World of the Americas. As the papal bull read, "We demand that you urge the people of these countries and islands to accept Christianity, and may no dangers or pains ever deter you." The government's missionary duties included the responsibility of sending and supporting missionaries; of organizing and dividing episcopal dioceses and nominating bishops in their territories. (A. Freitag, The 20th Century Atlas of the Christian World, N.Y. 1963, p. 62)

Kings in that mediaeval age took these duties more seriously than one might expect. Spain, for example, sent more than 4,690 Catholic missionaries to the Americas in only a little over 100 years, from the voyages of Columbus in 1492 to the death of Philip II in 1598. (Ibid, p. 75). Even Christopher Columbus, though he was not himself a missionary, recognized that the spread of the gospel was as much his responsibility as the call of discovery, and he often signed himself with the Greek and Latin components of his first name, Xpo Ferens (the Bearer of Christ).

Nevertheless, padroado, or royal patronage, as a strategy of missions, had serious and crippling drawbacks. It made missions state-directed rather than church-directed. It gave colonial authorities power, if not direct jurisdiction, not only over its own givernment supported preachers and missionaries but also over those of the voluntary orders as well which considerably hampered the freedom of the missionary movement. It also virtually restricted the missionary force to Portuguese and Spanish subjects, which led ultimately to a serious shortage of missionaries. (Freitag, op. cit. p. 73).

Most tragic of all, padroado forever gave to the foreign missionary movement of the Christian church a stigma of colonialism from which to this day it has not been able to free itself.

2. Missions by Voluntary Societies. Fortunately, Roman Catholic mission strategy was never limited to the colonialist concept of padroado. Already in the 13th century, as we have seen, voluntary societies for service, evangelism and missions had sprung up in the church unconnected with government powers. The religious orders of the Franciscans and the Dominicans had carried the gospel as far as China.

In the 16th century, a new society emerged out of the ferment of the counter-reformation, and through this new missionary agency, the Society of Jesus, there occurred what was probably the greatest explosion of missionary zeal and activity in the history of the Roman Catholic church. The Society was founded by Ignatius Loyola in 1534, the same year that saw the conversion of John Calvin. What Calvin was to do for the Reformation, Loyola did for the counter-reformation: he added to conversion vision; and to vision, discipline; and to discipline, an organization and a strategy for Christian conquest. But whereas Calvin and the Reformers rarely carried their vision of Christian missions ~~beyond~~ beyond the narrow confines of Catholic Europe, Loyola and his Jesuits took it to the ends of the earth.

Loyola was converted at age 26 from a life of military profligacy. A judge once described the young, long-haired knight in a court reprimand as "cunning, violent and vindictive". (Rene Fulop-Miller, The Jesuits: A History of the Society of Jesus, N.Y. 1963, p. 35) He was no intellectual. One of his pupils said that "few great men had so few ideas", but he added significantly, "still fewer had been more thoroughly earnest in the realization of these ideas." (Ibid, p. 23) The central idea in Loyola's vision of mission was obedience. His famous Book of the Spiritual Exercises begins with the definition of the purpose of man as "conforming to the will of God". Man has only one basic choice, a choice between Satan and Christ. If he chooses Christ, then he must join Him in battle against Satan for the Kingdom. Against Satan and his evil spirits who spread out across the world, Christ "the Supreme and True Captain... chooses His apostles and disciples and sends them out into the whole world, so that they may spread the sacred doctrine among all mankind." (Ibid, p. 11). So the obedience demanded of the Jesuits is a missionary obedience.

The Society of Jesus began with seven members--five Spaniards, a Frenchman and a Portuguese. Its first aim was to win Jerusalem back from Islam for Christ, not by force of arms, however, but by the conversion of the Moslems to Christ. When this proved impossible, they turned to the Pope to send them wherever they might be needed, and "within a hundred years," writes Stephen Neill (Hist. of Missions, p. 146), "Jesuits were to lay their bones in almost every country of the known world and on the shores of almost every sea.."

Jesuits added to the usual three monastic vows (celibacy, poverty, and obedience) an extra missionary clause as part of the vow of obedience. The famous 4th vow. Every Jesuit vowed to go to any part of the world and

to accept any task in absolute obedience to the Pope. (J. Broderick, St. Francis Xavier, 1506-1552. Lond. Burns Oates, 1952, p. 71) The duty of obedience was at the heart of the Jesuit theology and strategy of mission. When Francis Xavier, for example, the first and greatest of all the Jesuit missionaries, was suddenly told one day that he must take the place of a sick brother and go to India, all he said was, "Good, I'll go", and the next day he was off to Asia. (Ibid, p. 77 f.; and F. A. Flattner, Jesuits Go East.. 1541-1786, Dublin, Clonmore & Reynolds, 1950, p. 17) In the old sailing ships of his day it took him a year and twenty-nine days to reach India. (Broderick, p. 97)

In the next ten years before he died Xavier planted the cross, it has been said, "in fifty-two different kingdoms, preached through nine thousand miles of territory, and baptized over one million persons". (quoted by R. H. Glover, The Progress of World-Wide Missions, N.Y. Harpers, 1952, p. 72) His missionary methods and missiology may be criticized, but not his incredible devotion to Christ, his missionary zeal and unflagging courage and persistence.

Criticism of his methods must include his failure to learn any of the languages of the countries in which he preached, his mass baptisms without conversions, his request to the King of Portugal that the Inquisition be introduced in the colonies in India, and his perennial use of superstitious mediaeval practices such as sprinklings with holy water. But on the credit side are his scalding rebukes of the immorality of the nominally Catholic European colonists, his outpouring love and compassion for the outcastes in Indian society, and his almost instant appreciation and respect for the high cultural level of east Asian civilization, particularly in Japan.

Acceptance and use of all that was best in national, pagan cultures, rather than the outright condemnation of all non-Christian cultures as heathen, became a central characteristic of the Jesuit missiology. It was never separated from an equally crucial emphasis in Jesuit missionary theology that the unsaved are wholly and terribly lost. Loyola's Spiritual Exercises repeats over and over again in frighteningly vivid detail the horrors of the damned in hell. (F. F.-Miller, The Jesuits, op. cit., p. 7 ff.) But such realistic, Biblical theological conviction did not prevent Jesuits from learning to respect and admire all that was good in the Japanese and Chinese civilization with which they came in contact.

After only two months in Japan, for instance, Xavier wrote back to Portuguese colonists in Goa who had begun to develop an arrogant sense of superiority over all Asians, "They (i.e. the Japanese) are the best race yet discovered.. Admirable in their social relationships, they have an astonishing sense of honour.. In general, they are not a wealthy people, but neither among nobles nor plebeians is poverty regarded as a disgrace.. The Japanese are full of courtesy.. Swearing is little heard.. A good proportion of the people can read or write.. They are monogamists, and they abominate thieving.. Of all the people I have seen in my life, including Christians, the Japanese are the most rigorously opposed to theft. They take pleasure in hearing of the things of God.. and they have no idols made in the shape of beasts. They [illegible] appealed to on rational grounds, and are ready to

agree that what reason vindicates is right." (Broderick, op. cit., p. 362, quoting Xavier's letter dated Nov. 5, 1549).

The organizing genius of Jesuit missions, however, was not so much Xavier as Alessandro Valignani, who was appointed Visitor of the India Mission (i.e. superintendent of all the far east missions) and followed Xavier to Asia in 1574. It was he who developed most clearly the Jesuit principle of conformity and accommodation to local cultures. In Japan, for example, he insisted that the Jesuits live in Japanese-style houses, and build their churches in Japanese architectural patterns, and strictly observe national rules of etiquette and behaviour. He taught the Jesuits to study thoroughly the political life and structure of the countries in which they laboured and to set as their objective the conversion of the center of political power, thereby opening the way to the conversion of the masses in a way that is reminiscent of the missiology of the middle ages with its focus on converting the nation through the rulers. (Broderick, p. 366 f.)

It was in 17th century China that the Catholics, under the brilliant pioneer Matthew Ricci, developed a consistent, coherent strategy of mission--a Jesuit missiology--for the conversion of Asia. Ricci entered China in 1583. He was not the first of his order in China, but he was the first to enter and stay. The first Catholic missionary in China proper (as distinct from Mongolia) had been the Franciscan, John of Monte Corvino, but the Franciscan missions were wiped out in the fall of the Mongol Yuan dynasty in 1368, and for the next nearly two hundred years, under the Ming dynasty, there was no Roman Catholic mission in China. Then came the Jesuits.

Jesuit missionary policy in China can be summarized briefly under the following points:

1. Linguistic preparation. Xavier had been no linguist, but when Alessandro Valignani was appointed Superintendent of the Mission, he demanded intensive preparatory training in the local languages in the Jesuit colldge at Macao. This included mastery of regional dialects as well as of the mandarin dialect of the intellectual class.

2. Indirect cultural approach, rather than evangelistic assault. Valignani's comprehenisve plan for the Christianization of the Far East was almost military in its strategy and discipline, but recognizing the immensity and difficulty of the objective (the evangelization of the Chinese Empire) it was organized rather for a long-term siege than for direct frontal assault by confrontation evangelism. The Jesuits made no secret of their faith, but did not openly emphasize their missionary purpose. They showed great interest, rather, in Chinese culture, and when asked why they had come they would often reply that the fame of Chinese civilization had reached them in their own countries and that they had desired to see for themselves the wisdom and high moral development of the Chinese. At the same time they made sure of their own mastery of areas of learning in which the science of the West was superior to that of China, particularly in the field of the natural sciences

about which Chinese intellectuals were insatiably curious. (Fulop-Miller, p. 236 f.) The Swiss watch and Italian geography and German astronomy were more widely used as missionary tools by the Jesuits than even the Bible. But they did make effective use of Christian literature in the form of beautifully-written theological tracts, usually presented as philosophical discussions.

3. Sociological and political pragmatism. The Jesuits were pragmatists, not doctrinaire idealists in matters of mission policy. When they first entered China, wishing to gain recognition as men of piety and religion and not attract attention as foreigners, they took off their priestly robes and dressed as Buddhist monks. Later, when Ricci discovered that the Buddhists were not as greatly respected as he had thought, but were considered illiterate and lazy, he promptly ordered the missionaries to change their dress to that of a more prestigious class, the Confucian scholars. This same principle of pragmatism led them to direct their efforts toward the ruling classes rather than the masses, in the hope that thereby they could influence the Chinese court to open up the country freely to the propagation of the Christian religion. Ricci tried to reach the Ming Emperors, and after the fall of the Ming, his successors, Adam Schall and Verbiest, were at last successful in gaining the favor of the new Manchu rulers. The policy was finally vindicated when, in 1692, the Emperor K'ang Hsi, who was greatly impressed by Verbiest, granted an edict of toleration, and for the first time in some 300 years the Christian faith was again officially legal in China.

That victory, however, was soon followed by disaster. It was these same principles of accommodation and pragmatic adaptation to circumstances that soon embroiled the Jesuit missionaries in a controversy which was to divide the Catholic missions against each other, cripple the Chinese church, alienate the Imperial Court, and finally lead to the dissolution of the Jesuit Mission itself. It is called the Rites Controversy, and lasted for a hundred stormy years, from 1643 to 1742.

The main point at issue was whether Christians should be allowed to participate in the Chinese rites of ancestor worship. Other issues were also involved, such as what Chinese name should be used for the Christian God, and how far Christians might follow Chinese funeral customs, but the central issue was ancestor worship. The Jesuits said that Christians should adapt as far as possible to Chinese ways and "baptize" the rites for Christian use. But other Catholic missionary societies, notably the Dominicans, jealous of Jesuit success condemned the policy as a compromise with heathenism.

The Dominicans took their charges to the Pope. Was it right, they asked, for Chinese Christians to contribute to community sacrifices to pagan divinities; to attend official sacrifices if they concealed under their clothes a cross; to take part in sacrifices to Confucius and to honor the ancestral tablets? The answer of the Pope, in an edict of 1645, was "No". But the Jesuits at once objected that the Dominicans had misrepresented their policy, and explained in great detail to the Pope what they really taught. So in 1656 the Pope reversed himself, with a typical papal compromise, while the practices described ~~as~~ by the Dominicans were wrong, as described by the Jesuits they were all right. The edict permitted Chinese Christians to observe all civil and political ceremonies, and even "ceremonies in honor of the dead" provided that

their superstitious features were removed, and even permitting the superstitious ceremonies if Christians attending them at the same time disavowed the superstitious features with a public protestation of their faith. (Latourette, History of Christian Missions in China, N.Y., MacMillan, 1929, p. 135 ff.)

Despite the compromise, the controversy spread. Against the Jesuits were the Dominicans and the French Mission. For the Jesuits were the Franciscans, the Augustinians and the only Chinese bishop in China, a Dominican. In 1700 the Emperor K'ang Hsi tried to help his Jesuit friends with an announcement that "honors paid to Confucius" were only to Confucius as a legislator and not to Confucius as a religious leader; and that ancestral rites were only a "demonstration of love and a commemmoration of the good the dead had done during their lives". (Latourette, op. cit. p. 140). But though the Jesuits had the Emperor and most of the China Catholic missions on their side, in the Roman church it takes just one vote to win a controversy--the Pope's. And in 1704 the Jesuits lost that one important vote.

On Nov. 20, 1704, Pope Clement XI confirmed a decree of the Inquisition ruling against Jesuit policies in China. It contained three main points:

1. It forbade the use of Shang Ti, and T'ien as the Chinese name for God, but permitted the use of T'ien-Chu (Lord of Heaven).
2. It forbade Christians to take part in sacrifices to Confucius or to ancestors.
3. It forbade ancestral tablets marked "the throne of the spirit of the dead", but permitted ancestral tablets if they carried only the name of the dead ancestor.

The reaction was stormy and violent. The Pope sent envoys to try to enforce the decrees, and to persuade the Jesuits to accept them. The envoys failed. The Pope issued papal Bulls (decrees) threatening all who opposed his decision. But the Chinese Emperor, whose sympathies were all with the Jesuits, simply refused to allow the Bishop of Peking to post the Bulls or publicize them. He said, "If the Pope can't enforce a Bull against the Jansenists in Catholic France (referring to a dispute with Augustinianism there), how can he enforce one against Christians in non-Christian China." Not until 1742 was the Pope able to enforce his decision and demand absolute submission from Catholics in China, but by then he had so angered the Chinese Emperor that a wave of persecution set in from which the church did not recover for a hundred years. In 1717 all Chinese Christians had already been ordered to renounce the Christian faith.

Much can be said on both sides of the controversy. On the one hand the papal position protected the integrity and purity and uniqueness of the Christian faith, which is important. But on the other, it unavoidably stigmatized the Christian faith in China as foreign and un-Chinese; and it led directly to the break-up of the most successful missionary society the Catholics had ever had in China, the Jesuits. For its resistance against the Pope the Society of Jesus was dissolved by Rome in 1774. Whatever the merits on either side of the controversy, the net result was a hundred years of persecution and an abrupt end to church growth in China.

V. The Missiology of the Reformation
(Summary)

Protestants have always been a little defensive about the fact that while Catholic theologians were beginning to grapple seriously with the imperatives of missionary outreach to the world, and while the Catholic missionaries of the missionary orders were reaching the farthest corners of the world--(Xavier landed in Japan fifteen years before the death of Calvin)--the Reformers seemed singularly unconcerned about the lostness of the world outside Christendom.

A. Luther and the Lutherans.

Luther's view of missions has been defended by some Lutherans, but Gustav Warneck, in his important pioneering work, Outline of a History of Protestant Missions, shows all too clearly (its indictment) "we miss in the Reformers not only missionary action, but even the idea of missions in the sense in which we understand them today," he writes. "And this not only because the newly discovered heathen world across the sea lay almost wholly beyond the range of their vision..but because fundamental theological views hindered them from giving their activity, and even their thoughts, a missionary direction". (p. 9). He concentrates most of his critique on Luther, whose call was to reformation, not to mission.

Luther seemed to have had three main reasons for neglecting the missionary command of Christ: first, a misinterpretation of Scripture; second, a misreading of church history; and third, too literal an eschatology. His misinterpretation of Scripture was his view that "the nations" (ta ethne) to whom our Lord sends his witnesses are the already converted, Christian nations of Europe, won in times past out of heathen darkness. This makes it easy for him to think of the Reformation mission within Christendom as the continuing fulfillment of the missionary command. His misreading of church history is his conviction that the world has already been reached by the gospel, even back in the days of the first apostles, so he feels no sense of unfinished missionary task. And finally, his eschatology included the curious conviction that some time in the year 1550 the last day would come. Such being the case, the end was too near for serious missionary effort. Besides, had not Christ predicted, in Luke 18:8, that when he returned he would find no faith on the earth?

Melanchthon even more than Luther taught that the missionary commandment was directed only to the Apostles, so is no longer binding upon the church. Later orthodox Lutheranism, opposing the immoderate missionary zeal of the Pietists, hardened into direct hostility against foreign missions.

C. The Reformed Tradition.

Zwingli, while agreeing that the apostles had fulfilled most of the Great Commission, nevertheless recognized that they had not reached the whole world, and that, therefore, the work of world missions must be continued. The role of the apostle, or missionary, did not die with the original apostles, he believed; it is still valid. "Their office," he writes, "is ever to go among the unbelieving and to turn them to the faith, while the bishop remains stationary by those committed to his care." He even chides the Anabaptists for claiming apostolic succession when their so-called "apostles" do not qualify for the title since they do not go out and preach to unbelievers. Despite such a promising beginning of what might have been a missiology, Zwingli said nothing about the duty of the church to send out missionaries. In fact, on one crucial theological point he virtually cuts the nerve of the missionary imperative. Zwingli lapsed in one passage into a kind of limited universalism which kept him from feeling the urgency of reaching the unreached with the gospel. "Pious heathen", he wrote--outstanding and moral men like Socrates and Seneca--would be saved even though they died without a knowledge of the gospel. (C. H. Robinson, History of Christian Missions, op. cit. p. 43)

Calvin's Institutes contain no such potentially fatal compromise with universalism, but in some ways it is even more disappointing missiologically than Zwingli. Zwingli at least recognized that the Biblical function of the missionary was still operative in the church. Calvin, however, writes that the office of apostle (by which he meant missionary) was not intended by Christ to be "of perpetual continuance in the Church, but only for that age when churches were to be raised where none had existed before." (Inst. IV, iii, 4). And since, as he implies, but does not directly state, the apostles had already filled the command of Christ and preached the gospel as missionaries to the whole world, in all nations, the age has passed and the office has lapsed. He does not deny a continuing need for such apostles and evangelists "in our own time", but outlines their role as not for taking the gospel to unreached nations (the nations have been reached), but rather for the recovery of the church "from the defection of Antichrist".(Ibid). In other words, like Luther, Calvin's concept of the Christian mission is almost entirely limited to the work of the Reformation.

Martin Bucer, too, whose key role in the Reformation has only recently been rediscovered by historians, has little to add to any possible "Reformation missiology". He prayed earnestly that all men, "even Jews, Turks and all unbelievers...may be wholly brought to (Christ)". He complained that Christians in the new age of discovery "seek the land and goods..of heathen peoples, but there is little trace of earnestness as to how one may win their souls to Christ our Lord" (quoted by Warneck, op. cit. p. 18). On that foundation he might well have begun to build a call to world mission that could have shaken the Reformers out of their obsession with the problems of the church in Europe. But two common theological misunderstandings cut off his missiology at the roots. The first is the recurring, perverse belief that the apostles had already fulfilled the Great Commission. The other was a misapplication of the doctrine of predestination. Since God has already predestined the elect to salvation, "Christians," wrote Bucer, "require to do nothing else than what they have done hitherto; let everyone occupy his station for the gospel, and the kingdom of Christ will grow". (Warneck, op. cit. p. 19)

C. A Re-assessment of the Missiology of the Reformers.

In the light of the above brief review of the all too few references to world mission in the writings of the Reformers, it is not surprising that it has become almost a dogma that the main-line Reformers, if not anti-missionary, were at least indifferent to missions to the unreached parts of the world.

It has been noted that the men who spoke out most unequivocally for missions to the unreached in the age of the reformation were either neutrals like Erasmus or heretics like the scientist Paracelsus. Erasmus, in his Treatise on the Art of Preaching (1535), urges the enrichiment of the world of the unbelievers with the spiritual treasure of the gospel, and in an emotional cry from the heart wishes that God had accounted him worthy to die as a missionary to the heathen. (Mrs. Ashley Carus-Wilson, The Expansion of Christendom, Lond. 1910, p. 127) Paracelsus, the famous pioneer naturalist and independent-minded spiritualist who is credited with the discovery of hydrogen but who mixed his science with large doses of astrology and superstition, should also be credited with an early proposal that Christians should not only talk about missions but organize for mission. He suggested a kind of para-missionary outreach, "a migrant, non-ecclesiastical apostolate with a missionary emphasis" (H. W. Gensichen, in The Student World, vol. LII, 1960, p. 127), that sounds remarkably like some of the latest innovations in volunteer, mobile missionary service by laymen and laywomen.

In the last two decades, however, historians of missions have begun to come to the defense of the Reformers' theology of missions. A notable example of this is an article in a special issue on missions the the magazine of the World Student Christian Federation magazine, The Student World, in 1960. The issue was entitled "History's Lessons for Tomorrow's Mission", and the article was by H. W. Gensichen, "Were the Reformers Indifferent to Mission". In it he points out that we do them a disservice by judging their concept of Christian missions by our own organized and institutionalized standards of the proper way to do missions in the 20th century. He insists that when the reformers are appraised by their own Biblical theological standards in the light of their own contemporary church and world situation, we need no longer apologize for them as we have so long done on the grounds that "the Reformation itself was so great an achievement in the field of 'home missions', that there could be no scope (for them) for 'foreign missions'." (Ibid, p. 119)

In the first place, he writes in defense of the reformers, that they did have a theology of mission. But it's starting place, as in all their theology, was not what men can and ought to do for the salvation of the world, but what God has done in Jesus Christ. As Calvin, for example, wrote, "We are taught that the Kingdom of Christ is neither to be advanced nor maintained by the ministry of men, but this is the work of God alone." Moreover, the initiative for mission is not man's awareness of the need nor his response and efforts to meet the need. The reformers insisted that the initiative is always with Christ and His Spirit. The Living Word, Christ, said Luther, still rises like the sun over all the world with His governing witness. (Ibid, p. 120f.).

(Missio-Dei)-
revived in our time

In the second place, the emphasis on the divine initiative in mission in the theology of the reformers, "far from paralyzing human missionary action, even stimulates the preaching of the faith as the first and foremost commission", writes Gensichen (p. 123). Even the obedience of the first apostles who reached the whole world, as the reformers believed, is no excuse for our neglect of the same obedience, said Calvin. The apostles only laid the foundations, and God still "in our own time" raises up his missionaries. (Inst. IV, iii, 4). And though God is indeed the Lord of the mission, and Christ its chief agent, nevertheless God's people must be its "sub-agents" as it were. This is the true meaning of the great reformed doctrine of the priesthood of all believers, says Gensichen (Ibid). "In order to make the heathen hear the word of God," said Luther, "preachers must be sent out..to them." (Ibid, p. 125)

A third important point in the Reformation view of missions explains why the reformers did not set up mission boards and societies, an omission for which they have been much criticized. One excuse made for them on this point was that unlike the Catholic states which were in the vanguard of the age of discovery and were thereby brought into direct contact with hitherto unknown pagan nations, the Reformed territories had almost no direct contact at first with the unevangelized world. But far more important in its bearing on the organization of missionary societies was the reformed doctrine of the church. In the theology of the reformers, the whole church is called to mission, and the responsibility for mission cannot therefore be narrowly committed to any one special department of the church. As Luther said, "Nobody should hear the gospel for himself only, but everyone should tell those who do not know it.." (quoted by Gensichen, p. 124).

This is the point that has been made popular in a modern missionary slogan, "Every Christian should be a missionary." In this spirit Calvin taught that Christian magistrates in the new colonies opening up to the West around the world should recognize as a Christian duty their opportunity to propagate the gospel in regions over which they might have responsibility. (E. D. Soper, The Philosophy of the Christian World Mission, N.Y., 1953, p. 120).

Nevertheless, the fact remains that whether due to the shortage of Protestant preachers in Europe, or to Protestant lack of contact with non-Christian lands, or to the Reformation's own life and death struggle for survival against the counter-attacks of the papacy, the age of the Reformation produced very little in the way of Protestant foreign missionary outreach.

At only two points did the Reformation itself mount a foreign mission. One was Lutheran; the other Calvinist. In 1555 John Calvin, to his eternal credit, answered a plea for preachers from a Huguenot group attempting to open a Protestant colony in Brazil. With the support of Admiral Coligny he sent four missionaries from Geneva to join the expedition of Nicholas Durand, better known by the name of Villegagnon, to the bay of Rio de Janeiro. But both the expedition and the mission proved a failure. One of the missionaries

had
wrote back to Geneva that they intended not only to minister as chaplains to the colonists but also to win the native heathen for Christ, but that the problems made it impossible. For one thing, the missionaries could not communicate with the natives, they did not know their language; and, he added, the natives were so barbarous as to be beyond hope. In the end, the whole attempt ended with treachery on the part of the expedition leader, Villegagnon, who turned Catholic again and murdered the Protestants.

The Lutheran attempt was not so dramatically frustrated. In 1557 King Gustavus Vasa who brought the Reformation to Sweden sent itinerant missionaries to the Lapps in the far north, and opened schools for them. But there were no visible missionary results and it was not for another 100 years that the Lutheran mission to the Lapps began to make headway. (Latourette, vol. 3, p. 64)

There is not then much to show for Protestant missions in the age of the Reformation: a superficial theological recognition of the duty of proclaiming the gospel, and two feeble and unsuccessful attempts at launching a mission. John Knox, Calvin's pupil, did manage to put missions on the ~~book~~ title page of the Scottish Confession of 1560, with the verse, "And this glad tidings of the kingdom shall be preached throughout the whole world for a witness to all nations; and then shall the end come" ( ); and he closed the Scottish creed with a missionary prayer, "Give they servants strength to speak thy word in boldness; and let all nations attain to thy true knowledge." (Warneck, p. 20, n.). But quoting scripture and praying for missions is not enough. The tragic fact is that the successors of the Reformers were not only indifferent to missions, the organized church and its theologians actually opposed missions. When a few bold and isolated prophets pleaded for the evangelization of the heathen, the great Lutheran and Reformed preachers thundered from their pulpits at the thought of such folly.

after Calvin's death Holland
In 1590 the Dutch Reformed theologian Adrian ~~Beza~~ Saravia published a missionary call in his book on the Christian ministry, Concerning the Different Orders of the Ministry... He pointed out that the Apostles had never actually reached the whole world with the gospel, and that therefore the Great Commission is still binding upon the church which should find and send apostolic men with living missionary zeal to preach to the heathen. The Reformed churches not only ignored his plea, but because he also proposed an order of bishops in the church they hounded him out of the Reformed church until he found refuge in England, finally becoming Dean of Westminster. Calvin's own successor, Theodore Beza in 1592 published a direct reply to Saravia, On the Tract by Saravia, the Belgian... As might be expected, he rejected the proposal for bishops, but went so far as to accuse Saravia of mininterpreting the Scriptures in his call for missionary outreach. (Warneck, p. 21 f.)

The Lutherans did no better, if not worse. Their lone prophet of missions was Justinian von Welz, and his tragic case is worth reporting in some detail as typical of the period. It is told in James Scherer's Justinian Welz: Essays by an Early Prophet of Mission (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1969), which contains not only several introductory chapters, but also Welz's tracts and the reply of Ursinus.

Baron Justinian von Eybisswald Welz came from a noble, castled Austrian family, but when he was only 7 (he was born in 1621) his family sold the castle and moved from Catholic Austria as Lutheran refugees to Saxony. As a student in Holland, Welz's first writings were on social justice and political reform, criticizing rulers who confiscated their subjects' property on the pretext of religious zeal. After school he fell for a time into a life of sensuous profligacy, but came back to the Lord through the study of the Bible. In 1663, when he was 42 years old he began to publish a series of tracts on spiritual discipline and the call to missions, the two great themes to which he devoted the rest of his life.

His first tract, De Vita Solitaria, was a call to a life of separation from the world and inner conversion. It was not a negative asceticism, however, which he took as his ideal, but rather an evangelical emphasis on spiritual discipline and dedication to the service of God in a world that is lost without God. The basis of his theology of missions was the certainty of death and painful condemnation for all who are not saved.

Two other tracts quickly followed in which he proposed the organization of a society for foreign missions. This was the first such concrete proposal in Protestantism. A Brief Report on How a New Society Is To Be Established Among Orthodox Christians of the Augsburg Confession (1663) imagines St. Paul returning after 16 centuries and discovering with dismay that his beloved Holy Land and Greece were no longer Christian, and that Christians graduated from seminary then waited for a church to call them to preach to Christians with no thought of going to the lost outside Christendom. Such thought, says Welz, moves him to propose a society for "all unmarried students and pious hearts". I ask you, he says, "whether you will dare to answer on the last day that so many thousands of souls scattered throughout the heathen, Turks, Moors, Indians and others must be condemned on account of their ignorance of the true faith". (Op. cit., p. 51). In his next tract therefore (A Christian and Sincere Admonition to all Orthodox Christians of the Augsburg Confession Concerning a Special Society Through Which with the Help of God Our Evangelical Religion May Be Spread) he draws up a specific proposal for a missionary society which he called the "Jesus-Loving Society". This he expanded in still a fourth tract, An Invitation to the Approaching Great Supper and a Proposal for an Edifying Christian Jesus-Society Dealing with the Betterment of Christendom and the Conversion of Heathendom (1664).

Welz did more than write about missions. He set aside part of his inherited wealth for the establishment of his proposed missionary society, and presented his proposal officially to the Protestant Council (Corpus Evangelicorum) of the Imperial Diet of the Holy Roman Empire, which was composed of the state counsellors of some 39 Protestant kingdoms and territories in the Empire. As a nobleman himself, he had direct access to such high councils. But he was rebuffed. The bureaucracy of the Reformation, both civil and ecclesiastical was not prepared for missions. There was not enough money, he was told. Besides, if converts were made in Turkish lands, they would only be killed. And his proposal to send student volunteers as missionaries was naive; what could they do in two or three years of itinerant preaching? Discouraged, Welz gave up the organized church as hopeless, and gave himself over to pious meditations.

He did not remain inactive, however, for late in 1664 he roused himself to write one last missionary appeal to the church, A Repeated Loyal and Earnest Reminder and Admonition to Undertake the Conversion of Unbelieving Peoples. But it was counter-productive. His bitterness against a church that would not listen to him betrayed him into too reckless a criticism of the church, and only turned the theologians of the day, like J. H. Ursinus, even more sharply against him. Ursinus answered for the Lutheran church. It was a poor answer, failing to deal with Welz's Biblical and theological arguments and countering only with an enumeration of the political and cultural reasons why a mission to the heathen could not succeed. Ursinus even went so far as to question wither is was God's will for the heathen to be converted. (A Sincere, Faithful and Earnest Admonition to Justinian.., op. cit. pp. 97-108).

The break was complete. Welz left Germany for Holland; had himself ordained an "apostle to the heathen" by a maverick Lutheran pastor there; renounced his baronial title; and sailed alone as a missionary to Surinam, a Dutch island off the coast of South America. That was in 1666. Two years later he was dead. As far as is known he had won no converts, and planted no churches.

Was the missiological fruit of the Protestant reformation, then, to be limited to the bare options of a choice between an Ursinus and a Welz--a church without missionaries, and a missionary without a church?

On the one hand, organized Lutheranism as represented by Ursinus, or by the 1651 "Opinion" of the Lutheran theological faculty at Wittenberg in answer to a question about the validity of the Great Commission, rejected the call to foreign missions. There seemed to be ~~four~~ three major reasons:

1. The concept of missio Dei robbed the church of a sense of urgency and individual responsibility for foreign missions. God is already spreading his kingdom in everything he does; he already has his church as a missionary organization so he doesn't need human organizations or voluntary societies; every Christian is a missionary so there is no need of professionals.

2. The Great Commission was robbed of its contemporary relevance by its narrow limitation to the New Testament apostolate which ~~xxx~~ expired with the death of the apostles, and the misleading assumption that it had already been fulfilled by the spread of the gospel to all the world long before. Philip Nicolai in 1598 had published a popular book, De Regno Christi, purporting to show that the whole world had been reached already, and where there seemed to be no church, as among the Aztecs or Incas, it had actually once existed only to disappear because of ~~xxxx~~ the hardness of hart of people who deserved no second chance.

3. The church was robbed of its responsibility for mission by the reformation principle of cuius regio (ruler's region) eius religio (his religion), that is, that the religion of a territory was to be determined by its rulers. Originally applied only to the choice between Protestantism and Catholicism as a compromise solution to end the Wars of Religion, it was conveniently extended to place responsibility for the conversion of the heathen not on the church, but on kings or princes as they extended their colonial empires.

On the other hand was Justinian Welz, visionary and naive, hoping to save the world with his "Christian peace corps" of wandering (unmarried, pious) students.

10 years later the Pietist movement was born.

INTRODUCTION TO MISSIOLOGY (Summary)

Samuel H. Moffett.

I. From the Early Church to the Reformation

(Summary)

Introduction: Missiology is a new science, unrecognized by the early church, and undeveloped by the church of the Middle Ages. As for the Protestant Reformation, it not only had no explicit missiology, for the most part it did not even seem to believe in foreign missions. Even the modern missionary movement failed to develope a systematic, recognized science of missions until the 20th century, and that science of missions, or missiology as it is now called, is still fighting for a recognized place in the theological curriculum.

A. Missiology in the Early Church.

The early church had no science of missions. The earliest record of a missionary strategy, outside the New Testament, records that the apostles simply threw lots to determine their mission fields. The account is, of course, apocryphal. Nevertheless, they were not led by scientific mission strategy, but by the Spirit. J. H. Bavinck, in his Introduction to the Science of Missions (which is the best text-book, I think, for this course) writes, "The ancient church conducted missionary work as though it were self-explanatory; it never asked: Why do we have missions? ... Its testimony was..spontaneous..and natural."

The church fathers give only scattered mention of missionary outreach, and few notices of missionary methods. Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical History gives a very doubtful version of the beginnings of mission to Asia beyond the Roman Empire. Augustine has some good advice for missionaries such as "Don't try to teach new believers everything at once, but explain the gospel in easy stages". He also took a dangerous position when he suggested that the use of political force to coerce the conversion of unbelievers might be permissible. But such references are isolated and do not really deal with cross-country missions. The world of the church fathers was limited to the world of Roman culture, and no science of cross-cultural missions was developed in that period.

B. Missiology in the Middle Ages.

Even when the Roman Empire collapsed and the Roman Church took its place as the focus of contact between Christendom and the pagan world, the church developed no systematic theory of missionary theology or practice.

1. The conversion of Europe. The great missionary achievement of the age was the conversion of Europe, but this was achieved in bits and pieces, by devout but isolated pioneers, or by politically motivated rulers, and not by any over-all, coherent strategy of missions.

let me speak first of the aim of missions in this period. It was directed primarily to the conversion, or more properly Christianization of nations rather than individuals. The object was to convert kings and rulers, like Clovis of the Franks.

Methods and strategy are not clearly defined. The most important were force, One of the most famous documents of missions strategy in this period is Pope Gregory's letter of 601 A.D. to his missionaries in England. He advocates two important missionary policies: (1) organize the church as early as possible, and (2) do not condemn everything in the pagan religions, but "baptize" as much of it as possible, making it Christian and using it as a bridge into the Christian faith. Perhaps the most effective single piece of missions strategy in the conversion of Europe was the founding of monasteries by the Irish missionaries to Europe as centers of missionary outreach. The most famous of these missionaries was St. Columban.

In the same period, a more questionable missionary practice was the use of political and military force by a Christian conqueror like Charlemagne to convert the Saxons in the 8th century. Although in this Charlemagne was only adapting a method suggested by the great St. Augustine, his adviser, the great educator Alcuin, reminded him of Augustine's better missionary advice, alluded to above, in which he warns missionaries not to expect too much of new converts too quickly. Unfortunately, military and political for Christian mission became the unarticulated but widely practiced strategy of most of the Christian missions of the Middle Ages, and led to the greatest missionary mistake in church history, the attempt to Christianize the Moslem world by force of arms in the Crusades.

2. The rise of voluntary societies. The failure of the Crusades led to a re-direction of the church's missionary methods into more positive channels as the main-stream of Catholic missions was taken out of the hands of Christian rulers and the secularized papacy of the 13th and 14th centuries, and taken up devout and spiritual members of the great voluntary societies of the church, the Roman Catholic Orders, particularly the Franciscans and the Dominicans.

Francis of Assissi, founder of the Franciscans, went himself as a missionary to Egypt to try to convert the Sultan. Raymond Lull, another Franciscan was the greatest missionary to Islam of them all, and his call to mission was a direct repudiation of the crusades. "They think they can conquer by force of arms," he wrote. "It seems to me that the victory can be won in no other way than as Thou, O Lord Christ, didst seek to win it, by love and prayer and self-sacrifice." Bishop Neill, in his History of Christian Missions calls this "a notable shift.. in the missionary methods of the Christian Churches. For five centuries at the heart of the missionary enterprise had stood the monastery.. From now on and for two centuries the central place will be held by the two great Order of (Preaching) Friars, the Franciscans and the Dominicans." (p. 116)

The missionary zeal of the Franciscans took them far beyond the land of the Mohammedans, to China, at the end of the world. They divided Mongol territory into four ecclesiastical territories for mission: Kipchak, Persia, Turkestan and China. The first Catholic missionary to reach China was a Franciscan, John of Pian de Carpine in 1246. The Dominicans even organized a branch of their Society specifically for foreign missions, the Societas Fratrum Peregrinantium propter Christum.

The Catholic church even began to develope a theology of missions. Thomas Aquinas explored the theological implications of the church's mission

to the non-believing world in hi Summa Contra Gentiles, noting that a different approach would be needed to present the gospel to complete pagans, like the Moslems, from that which Christians might use with those who are nearer to the faith, like Jews or heretics, since Jews accept at least the Old Testament, and heretics the New Testament as well, and thus the Bible can be used in whole or in part as a standard of appeal with them. But for complete pagans, he concluded, the only common basis of argument is the appeal to natural reason. It was three more centuries, however, before Catholic theologians began to develope more complete and systematic theologies of mission, stimulated by the challenge of whole new worlds of pagan peoples opened up by the Age of Discovery. The most important of these are the writings of Joannes Azorius (1535-1603), Antonius Posevinus (1534-1611), and Thomas a Jesu.

II. The Missiology of the Reformation
(Summary)

Protestants have always been a little defensive about the fact that while Catholic theologians were beginning to grapple seriously with the imperatives of missionary outreach to the world, and while the Catholic missionaries of the missionary orders were reaching the farthest corners of the world--Xavier landed in Japan fifteen years before the death of Calvin--the Reformers seemed singularly unconcerned about the lostness of the world outside Christendom.

A. Luther and the Lutherans.

Luther's view of missions has been defended by some Lutherans, but Gustav Warneck, in his important pioneering work, Outline of a History of Protestant Missions, shows all too clearly (& indisputably) "We miss in the Reformers not only missionary action, but even the idea of missions in the sense in which we understand them today," he writes. "And this not only because the newly discovered heathen world across the sea lay almost wholly beyond the range of their vision..but because fundamental theological views hindered them from giving their activity, and even their thoughts, a missionary direction". (p. 7). He concentrates most of his critique on Luther.

Luther seemed to have had three main reasons for neglecting the missionary command of Christ: first, a misinterpretation of Scripture; second, a misreading of church history; and third, too literal an eschatology. His misinterpretation of Scripture was his view that "the nations".(ta ethne) to whom our Lord sends his witnesses are the already converted, Christian nations of Europe, won in times past out of heathen darkness. This makes it easy for him to think of the Reformation mission within Christendom as the continuing fulfillment of the missionary command. His misreading of church history is his conviction that the world has already been reached by the gospel, even back in the days of the first apostles, so he feels no sense of unfinished missionary task. And finally, his eschatology included the curious conviction that some time in the year 1550 the last day would come. Such being the case, the end was too near for serious missionary effort. Besides, had not Christ predicted, in Luke 18:8, that when he returned he would find no faith on the earth?

Melanchthon even more than Luther taught that the missionary commandment was directed only to the Apostles, so is no longer binding upon the church. Later orthodox Lutheranism, opposing the immoderate missionary zeal of the Pietists, hardened into direct hostility against foreign missions.

Roland Allen

Missionary Methods: St. Paul's or Ours (1912)

"In a little more than ten years St Paul established the church in four provinces of the Empire, Galatia, Macedonia, Achaia and Asia. Before AD 47 there were no churches in these provinces, in AD 57 St. Paul could speak as if his work there was done.." and was ready to move West. (p. 3)
How did he do it? So rapidly, so securely?

Others have tried his methods in fragments, incorporated these fragments into alien systems, and blamed failure on Paul. For example:-

(1) Paul baptized uninstructed converts. Others do the same - and the converts fall away. "But St. Paul did not baptize uninstructed converts apart from a system of mutual responsibility which ensured their instruction.

(2) Paul gathered congregations and left them to found for themselves. Missionaries have tried this - and the congregations fell back into heathenism. "But St. Paul did not gather congregations, he planted churches, and did not leave a church until it was fully equipped with orders of ministry, sacraments and tradition".

(3) Missionaries have trusted native helpers with funds, and they misused them. St. Paul did not do this. He had no funds .. etc. pp. 5-6.

His strategy: -

(1) He planned in logic terms - his unit of reference was the province, not the city. Macedonia, Asia.

(2) He did not try to preach everywhere - but concentrated on planting churches in three or four strategic cities - intending that these congregations would evangelize the province.

(3) He chose the cities carefully - they were either -

(a) He chose centers of Roman military govt. - Derbe, Lystra, Philippi - not native towns like Pisidian Antioch. He used his citizenship and the power of Roman government for the gospel, and appreciated the

possibilities of world-wide extension of the gospel than a world-wide empire.

(b) They were centres of Greek civilization. He made education the medium of communication of the gospel. Christians were expected to be learned. He wrote in Greek, & did not translate into native dialects (p. 14)

(c) They were usually centres of Jewish influence. He entered the synagogue. The gave him honour & advantages (toleration, exemption from military service, & an initial understanding).

(d) They were centres of world commerce – not isolationist towns – with a sense of leadership and purpose outside themselves.

They were "not centres into which life drained but centres from which it spread abroad" – p. 16. He took these centres & made them centres of Christian life. How?

Intro'd

Contemporary Problems of Christian Expansion

Introduction

Father Schmidlin, Catholic Mission Theory, with typical German thoroness, divides field of science of missions into 3 categories:

Mission History – the branch of mission science which treats of missions in their concrete reality in <u>past</u>.

Missiography – " " " which treats of them in their concrete reality in the <u>present</u>.

Mission Theory – " " " ① which discusses the reasons for establishing missions.
" " " ② " " the methods of establishing them.

This course then is missiography. I shudder at the name – but better than

halieutics – the theory of fishing of men (Sickels)
propagandics – (Kuyper)
kerygtics – proclaiming the gospel (Stier)

Missiography – because we will consider, very definitely, missions in their concrete reality in the present. Also mission theory, for some of principal problems of contemporary missionary expansion involve differing theories of missionary methods.

But in a way, Schmidlin's whole classification is outdated. He wrote it in 1931, 20 yrs. ago, and moreover based it largely on a pioneering work which is still the best in its field, Gustav Warneck's ~~Missions-lehre~~ Evangelische Missionslehre – which is over 50 years old. It is a measure of the chaotic state of mission studies, that the basic work in this field which deals with the most important single movement in Christendom in the last 250 years, is not only more than half-a-century old, but has never been translated into English. The book still remains to be written which will do for the science of missions what Latourette, in his 7 ponderous volumes has done for the history of missions.

As I ~~was~~ saying, Schmidlin, Catholic Mission Theory, has two counts against him – he is Catholic, and he is out of date. He is dated most clearly by his mission-centered approach, and hard tho it is for the missionary (like me) to accept, we are living in the day of the decline of the mission, do not weep. It is also the day of the rise of the ~~Nation~~ Younger Church. In step with the times, ~~this~~, therefore, this is called a course in Ecumenics, not in Missions.

And yet, in this first class period which is to be devoted to a general survey of the state of the Christian Mission and the Church and the World, I am going to begin with missions. Three factors must be involved in any survey of Christian expansion: –

1) The Older Churches – their mission agencies.
2) The Younger Churches
3) The World – the environment in which the Church expands.

I begin without apology ~~with~~ in the old, familiar way, with the Older Churches – and their Missions. I know the valid objections to this approach – the imperialism, the paternalism that may be inherent in it – the limited, one-way approach it seems to suggest to a world-wide task that will be accomplished only in partnership and humility.

But the reaction to the mission approach to Christian expansion can be carried to rather extreme lengths. For ex: – Report of Biennial Conf. of Field Reps. and Staff of Presb. Bd. For. Miss., 1953, There was great debate on a proposition to change the name of the Board. Foreign – opposed to spirit of ecumenical unity.
Mission – too one-way

Suggestions – Presb. Ch. USA – Overseas Division
Bd. of World Xn Outreach of Presb. Ch. USA
The Presb. Church Overseas
Bd. of Interchurch Action
World Xn Fellowship.

Some of the same objections were leveled against the term missionary. What substitute can we find, they said.

① Abandon any category – call them by functional capacity: minister, doctor, teacher.
Obj. Need distinctive overall title to indicate relation to calling of the church

② Fraternal worker–
Obj. – too much "within-the-lodge", too sexist

③ Witness; minister-at-large, overseas worker, partner-in-obedience.

① It all sounds a bit ridiculous to me. I still like the word mission:– It carries with it a stabilizing reminder of the vertical – which is the determining factor in the mission of
② It carries with it the challenge of an uncompleted task. (Ecumenics – it suggests a cliche, that the mission is already done – here in the world church. The gospel has already been preached to the ends of the earth. Did you know, by the way, that it is that that one of the principal reasons for the almost complete lack of interest in world missions during the church's patristic period (the church fathers almost never mention it) – that the legends of the lives of the apostles gave rise to the belief that the gospel had already been preached in all the world. It is a dangerous thing to give a false impression. In the past, our great danger has been to ignore the younger church. We tended to speak always of our missions. The problem today, may be, how to move from missions to ecumenics without losing our mission – not the organization, but the sense of mission. The new danger may be that in reaction we will overpaint the strength of the younger churches. We believe in the equality of the churches – their partnership in obedience – with all our hearts. But in some important respects (this not the most important) – their equality is like the equality of pigs on Geo. Orwell's Animal Farm: "All pigs are equal; but some pigs are more equal than others!" So – all churches – but some are more equal than others. And the greatest inequality is in their physical immanence to the great masses of the unreached. The younger churches are great and growing – but they are literally, candles shining in the darkness, – but I am anticipating.

That's simply I like the word mission; and I will begin with the older churches and their mission for a very simple reason:– the weight of the balance of world life is still with them. The wave of the future may be with the Younger Churches – but this is still the present.

Have you noticed that all these other suggested terms are horizontal "fraternal-worker; partner-in obedience" even "ecumenical" — they never rise above the level of this world. Now I trust — I will be a fraternal worker, a partner with my Korean colleagues — there is no room for a vertical relationship there. But the Christian church will expand horizontally across the world only in vertical obedience to its Lord & Saviour J.C. And this sense of the vertical is captured in the word Mission. The missionary is "one who is sent." And the mark of his calling is neither his relationship with his colleagues, his goal for the task, or his duty to the Lord. The mark of the calling of the one who is sent, is obedience to the sender.

(~~Our problem today, perhaps, is how to move from Missions to Ecumenics without losing our mission~~)

Bds + Societies

Lecture I. Older Churches: Their Mission Agencies.

The balance of the Mission is with the older churches: —

1. First, because of their numbers: —

We no longer have a world simply & sharply divided into 2 halves X & non-X., as when Wm. Carey, in 1792 looked at his patched-leather globe, & put down these rough statistics: —

World pop.	731,000,000
Christians	174,000,000
(R.C. —	100,000,000)
(Prot.	44,000,000)
(Orth.	30,000,000)

The world's Xns. are no longer living in self-satisfied isolation in their Christendom — while the rest of the world goes by, unmoved & unmoved to their doom. Christendom is no longer Christian — ~~at bottom~~ & the rest is no longer without it — but most of the world's Christians are still huddled behind their old geographic boundaries: —

World pop. —	2,377,400,000	(1944)
	700,000,000	(1951)
Xn. pop.	423,000,000	(1951)
Rom. C.	207,000,000	(1944)
Prot	144,000,000	
Orth.	10,000,000	
Copts		

Prot. population in lands of the younger churches: 27,000,000.

~~More than half of all the Christians in the world are in Europe.~~

~~2. But the~~

Denominations: — Lutherans — 68,500,000
Presb. (Ref.) — 41,100,000
Bapt. 43,
Meth. 30,
Anglicans 30,
Congr. 5,

More than half of all the Christians in the world are in Europe.

54,000,000 Lutherans (largest single bloc of Prots. in world.
15,000,000 Presby. —

2. But the balance of the weight of the Mission does not lie in Europe.

2. But the balance of the weight of the movement does not lie in Europe.

Europe is once again itself a mission field.

"Look at Europe," Chinese student said. "If that is what Xty does to a continent, we don't want it here in Asia."

Europe is no longer a Xn continent. France, "eldest daughter of the R.C. church" — but now not over 10% believe or regularly practice any kind of religion. "Most of Europeans," says Alex. McLeish, "are facing a world without foundations and without hope."

England – only 1 in 7 of potential Prot. ch. membership is communicant } (Lat. Xn WM, 75)
Sweden – less than a tenth faithfully attend church

More R.C. missionaries went out from France than any other country (Lat. 74)

True, the modern foreign missionary movement began in Europe in 1708 — but the balance has shifted. The center is now North America.

North America & Europe in missions compared

① Europe may have more Xns. (at least on the rolls) – but North America has more money.

~~missionaries~~ "As late as 1900 more money was given and more missionaries went from the Brit. Isles than from the U.S. (Lat. n. 12, 75), but by 1914 U.S. had outstripped [illegible] & were giving almost ½ of total Prot. contrib. for missions.

~~from missionary bds. & societies~~

We've come a long way since the day in 1812 when family and relatives gathered at the dock to bid farewell to the first small group of American missionaries ever to sail overseas: to the foreign field. There were 8 of them, and the salary of a single missionary was figured at 444.44. In that year, the American people spent $4,687 on foreign missions. In 1950 the total spent on FM was reported at $50,567,292. From $9,000 to $56,000,000: — that increase is one factor in the shift of balance from Europe to N.A. Don't minimize it — if an army moves on its stomach as Nap. — then, the world Xn mission moves on its collection plate.

Then, the world Xn mission moves on its collection plate.

Annual Cost of Prot. missions (1938) was $60,000,000 — over half of which came from West (Van D. – World Xty.) (N. America)

Statistics: 1812 – $ 9,687
1901 – 5,300,150
[steady rise to 1927, decline to 33, steady to '42; sharp rise beginning '43. Now just catching up to '27)
1950 – 56,567,292 (YB. of Amer. Churches)

— C. Fahs, Trends in Prot. Giving
T.S. Donohugh, study of For. Mis. Financing, 1919-1948)

(2) Europe has more Chs. but N. America has more missionaries.

(1938) 300 mission Bds. & Socs. in Europe and N.A.

~~25,000 foreign missionaries~~

1953 - 15,000 & 26,000 fr. missionaries were from N. America.

Pops were - about equal. Now weight has shifted to N.A.

1/2 of mission outreach sponsored by churches of N. America

3/8 " " " " " " " Gt. Britain & Australasia.

1/8 " " " " " " " Continental Europe.

Van Dusen, who gives these figures, (World Xty.,) based on Interps. Stat. Survey, 1938) says, therefore: "Brit. missionaries have twice until recently 3 times as many younger Chs. as Cont. societies.

" N. American " " " " " " " 4 " " " to Contin.

" 1/8 of mission field (Prot.) has been evangelized by Anglo-Saxons (p.127) → p.7

Distribution of N American missionaries (1950) - Asia 42%
Africa 27% (incl. S. Africa, estimated)
L Am. 21%

(3) Europe has more churches, but the American church has been the one to insist "The Ch is not the Church unless it is missionary!"

European pattern = voluntary societies. S.P.G.; &c. from any the Particular Bapt.

American pattern: church control of missions and missions the controlling factor of the church. -

Ashbel Green, Pres of Princeton, 1812-1822 led the fight: -

(1) attempt to strengthen and enlarge existing Assembly's Board.

(2) estabd. a Synod controlled Bd. of Missions.

(3) spurred recognition of ABCFM as official Presb. Agency.

"They urged," says Brown, (100 years) "that missions should be regarded as the direct work of the Church; that a denomination should not commit its organized energies to its own land and leave its world-wide responsibilities to an independent society which might be characterized by doctrinal vagaries or irresponsible leadership and which, even when ably and wisely led, could afford no guarantee of evangelical loyalty but the personal character of the men who for the time controlled it; and that foreign mission should be regarded as the inherent obligation of the Church itself.

① Synod of Pittsburgh, 1831, establishes joint Bd. of For. Miss. under direct supervision of Presb. Ch:- W. Assn, N. India.

② John Rice - from deathbed to Assembly - "the Presb. Ch is a missionary society, & every ch. member a life time member of that society." 1831. Stormy debate in G Assembly for next 7 years. (N. School for ABC; O. Sch. for transfer of W. Foreign Mission Soc. from Presb. Synod to G A.

③ 1837. a) Pittsb. Soc. moves to N.Y., changes name to The Presb. For. Miss. Soc.

b) G.A. of 1837 takes matters into its own hand, repelled N. Sch. Synods (almost ½ of Presb. Ch.es; & with virtually the same motion that cut the ch in half, took the whole world as its responsibility: — adopted W.F.M.S. as its official Board.

c. Official control stressed. There is no mistaking the stress on church control in the constituting resolution adopted by the G.A., 1837 (p. 452 f.)

~~This became the American~~

"Resolved that the G. A. will superintend and conduct, by its own proper authority, the work of Foreign Missions, of the Presbyterian Church, by a board appointed to that purpose and directly amenable to the Assembly."

This became the pattern of American foreign missions — church control, yes, but also church responsibility for ~~foreign~~ the conversion of the world. And with the assumption of this resp. by the churches the trickle of missionaries to the world became a flood.

		Prot.		
1820.	Only 43 of the world's	458,	foreign missionaries were	American (Anderson). app. 10%
1868	481 of the world's	1774	" " "	" 27%.
1909		13 000	" "	
1911		18, 341		
1925	13,555	28, 010		48%
1938	11,151 (1936)	25,579 (38)	"	
1950	15,039 ('51)	26,916 (49)		56%

Summary: 1820 – 10%
1868 – 27%
1925 – 48%
1950 – 56%
} of total Prot. missionary force was from N. America.

(Source: – R.P. Beaver, N. Am. Missionary Bds. and Their Task, 1952 mimeo.
Rufus Anderson, For. Missions, their Claims, N.Y. 1869

But there is another trend emerging in Protestant missions which seriously qualifies the picture that I have just painted.

(1) The first trend, pointed out, is a shift from Europe to N. America, as a base for the Prot. missionary ~~enterprise~~. — (Not healthy. need cooperation)

1820: – 15% of Prot. for. missionaries were N. American. 43 of 258
1868 – 27% " " " 481 of 1,774
1925 – 48% 13,555 of 28,010
1950 – 56% 15,039 of 26,916

One of the reasons, I suggested, for this shift, in addition to the financial — was American insistence on the resp. of the whole church for for. missions — and the consequent development of denom. Bds. as the U.S. pattern in contrast to the European pattern of voluntary societies. "Foreign missions are not optional" – said U.S. – "they are obligatory upon the whole church." The interpretation was denominational. American missions were denom. missions.

(2) But a new trend is a trend ~~back to voluntary societies~~ away from the denominations, — ~~It has many aspects~~: —

~~a. The rise of the independent faith mission societies~~

Illustration: — The Marine Lynx (Adder) ~~in 191~~ at the close of the war. Denominational welcoming committees: — and the hordes of the "unwashed".
"Unwashed" – nephew of the now Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Warren, on our boat Lynx, 1947 – faith missionary.

It has many aspects: —

a) <u>The rise of the independent Faith Mission Societies.</u> (also international)

1) China – startled to find that C.I.M. had more missionaries in China, than we in the whole world.
Japan – largest mission in country is one you may never have heard of. TEAM.
N. Africa – startled to discover that greatest church is not that built up by U. Presb. mission, in Egypt, Evangelical Ch. (25,000) but is one built up by a faith organization, Sudan Int. Mission (55,000 comm. members) – twice as big.

2) These societies, with others [illegible] A. Mission, Africa Inland Mission, Wycliffe Bible Translators) are united in an organization, Interdenominational Foreign Miss. Assoc. of N.A. — with some 5,000 missionaries on the field.

3 characteristics (1) interdenominational
(2) fundamentalist – 9 pts. incl. [illegible] of Scripture, virgin birth, substitutionary atonement, hell. —

We sometimes laughed – their faith didn't always work. But I pay tribute – some of the finest, most devoted missionaries I have ever met were C.I.M. Strong points: (1) identification
(2) evangelism
(3) clarity of [illegible]
(4) sacrifice.

b) Another aspect: rise of the "evangelical missions movement"

This is not so much a trend away from denom. as from "standard-brand" denominations

Represented principally by an organization: Evangelical Foreign Missions Assoc., which is the foreign missions arm of the Natl. Assoc. of Evangelicals.

About 4000 missionaries: Christian & Miss. Alliance
Oriental Miss. Soc.
Conservative Bapt.
Voice of Andes
Pentecostal & Holiness groups.

c) Still another aspect of this tendency of retreat from larger denom. is seen in the third & still the largest Mission organization in America: the Div of For. Miss. of the NCC. — That is, the rise of the smaller denominations: —

		$ Giving	Memb.
1.	Methodist	7,011,286	9,180,428
2.	7th Day Advent	5,161,340	253,889
3.	Presb. U.S.A.	4,621,577	2,441,993
4.	Prot. Episc.	2,186,325	2,452,887
5.	Assemblies of God	2,109,440	370,118
6.	Congregational	1,402,855	1,269,466
7.	Presb. U.S.	1,329,622	718,791
8.	Am. Bapt. For.	1,055,551	1,550,653

→ one for growth on field.

U.L.C.A. — 1,532,700

(Div. of F.M. NCC — Report, 1952)

The whole tendency is summarized in these figures:

(about 1/6) 1925 Total missionaries, N.A. Prot. — 13,555. N.C.C. missionaries 11,200. Others 2,355
(about 1/3) 1950 " " — 15,039 " 9,500. Others 5,539

In 25 yrs the N.C.C. missionaries declined 1,700
" " non N.C.C. " increased 3,184

The relation between these groups (NCC, IFMA, EFMA etc.) is becoming one of the most serious problems of the missionary enterprise.

	Assembly of God	% Prot. Pop.	Seventh Day Adv.	%
Bulgaria	7,000	29.6 %		
Greece	422	23%		
British Honduras			2,158	49.4 %
~~Iran~~	~~1,000~~	~~25.3 %~~		
Algeria			412	54.5 %
French Morocco			128	25.2 %
Mauritius + Seychelles			897	94.7 %
Sp. + Port. W. Africa			543	28.3 %
Tunisia			71	73.8 %
Bolivia			3,192	47.1 %
Colombia			3,426	30.2 %
Costa Rica			1,153	32.4 %
Peru			12,312	48.7 %

MISSIOLOGY

Introduction

In his book, Catholic Mission Theory, Father Schmidlin, with typical German thoroughness, divides the science of missions into three categories:

1. Mission History. This is the branch of mission science which treats of missions in their concrete reality in the past.
2. Missiography. This treats of missions in their concrete reality in the present.
3. Mission Theory. This has two parts: A. The reasons for establishing missions, and B. The methods of establishing missions.

In this course we will deal with all three branches of missiology. We shall have to refer to Mission History, to root our study in what has happened in the actual process of the expansion of Christianity. We shall study Missiography, and survey the present world church in its concrete reality. And we cannot escape the deeper questions of why the gospel is to be propagated at all, and how it is most successfully spread throughout the world.

But it must be pointed out at once that, in a way, Father Schmidlin's whole system of classification is now out-dated. He wrote his book in 1931, forty years ago. Moreover, it is based largely on a ~~work~~ pioneering work by a Protestant scholar, Gustav Warneck, whose Evangelische Missionslehre, still in many ways the best in its field, is more than seventy years old.

Father Schmidlin's Catholic Mission Theory, like Warneck's earlier classic, is dated most clearly by his mission-centered approach. Today is not the day of the missions. It is ~~still~~ a day of mission, ~~but~~ contrary to some opinions, this will probably always require some form of missions to the end of time, ~~but~~ today is primarily the day of the younger church ~~in mission~~ in partnership in mission with the older churches.

~~Three~~ four factors, therefore, must be involved in any realistic study of Christian expansion and outreach today:

1. The older churches, and their mission agencies.
2. The younger churches, and their growth to maturity.
3. The world, the environment in which the church grows.
4. The whole course of mission history, out of which the modern missionary movement has grown.

This much at least is true. Mission is no longer west-centered. Today is primarily

I. The Older Churches and their Missions.

The first fact that must be faced in any realistic appraisal of today's Christian mission is that, despite the proud rise of the younger churches, the major share of responsibility for the Christian world mission is still being borne by the older churches.

1. In the first place, as the above statistics clearly show, the older churches still have the majority of the world's Christians.

Two hundred years ago, at the beginning of the modern missionary movement, when William Carey in 1792 looked at his home-made, patched-leather globe, and asked where the world's Christians were located, he found that the world of his day was sharply divided into two halves, one Christian, and one non-Christian. He wrote a pioneering book on missionary statistics, An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens, (Leicester, 1792), which did more than anything else to challenge the Protestant churches into the great missionary explosion of the 19th century. In the world of that time, he pointed out, world population was about 731,000,000. But only 174,000,000 were Christians, or a little less than 24%, about one-fourth of the world's total population. Worse yet, the world's Christians were all in one-half of the world--in Europe and North America,--and seemed to have no concern about the rest of the world . There were only two Protestant foreign missionaries in the whole world!

Here are William Carey's statistics:

World population	731,000,000
Christians	174,000,000
Roman Catholic -	100,000,000
Protestant	44,000,000
Orthodox	30,000,000

Compare those figures with the survey of world Christianity in 1961, as given above. What a great change. The world's Christians are no longer living in self-satisfied isolation in their Christendom while the rest of the world goes by, unwept and unsaved, to their doom. Christendom is no longer isolated--in fact, it is no longer quite so Christian--and the rest of the world is no longer without Christ.

Let us compare a number of sets of statistics, as of about the year 1960:

1. A survey made in 1960 by Dr. Dale Bruner for Christianity Today (Aug. 1, 1960, pp. 7 ff.) cites figures of Christian strength in each continent as follows:

World population (1960)		2,895,545,000
Christians		872,410,000 (i.e. 30%)
	Roman Catholic	509,350,000
	Protestant	238,500,000
	Orthodox & East.	139,770,000

The Christianity Today survey further breaks down the statistics by continents as follows:

ASIA (&Pacif)	Population	1,668,945,000	
	Christians	63,672,000	(or 3.7%)
	Roman Catholic	35,414,000	(55% of Christians)
	Protestant	26,000,000	(40% " ")
	Orth. & Eastern	2,500,000	(4% " ")
AFRICA	Population	231,585,000	
	Christians	41,021,000	(or 17% Christian)
	Roman Catholic	19,650,000	(48% of Christians)
	Protestant	15,870,000	(39% of Christians)
	Eastern & Orth.	5,500,000	(13% of Christians)
LATIN AM. (& Mex.)	Population	185,460,000	
	Christians	173,617,000	(or 94% Christian)
	Roman Cath.	167,000,000	(96% of Christians)
	Protestant	6,600,000	(4% of Christians)
EUROP E (& Siber.)	Population	615,500,000	
	Christians	472,000,000	(or 82%)Christian)
	Roman Cath.	241,000,000	(51% of Christians)
	Protestant	102,000,000	(22% of Christians)
	Orthodox	129,000,000	(27% " ")
N. AMERICA (US & Can.)	Population	194,000,000	
	Christians	136,100,000	(or 70% Christian)
	Catholic	46,334,508	(34% of Christians)
	Protestant	86,581,000	(64% of Christians)
	Orthodox	2,770,000	(2% " ")

Whereas in 1800 the world's Christians were all in the West, the figures for 1960 show a startling change. There are as 104,000,000 Christians xxxxx in Asia and Africa alone, which is 60% as many Christians as there were in the whole world in William Carey's time.

But still more than half of the world's Christians in 1960 were living in Europe. The world had 872,000,000 Christians, and 472,000,000 of them were in Europe. If we add the Christian population of that of Europe, the balance swings even more heavily to the West. Europe and North America have 608,000,000 Christians, compared with only 104,000,000 in Asia and Africa. Most of the world's Christians are still Westerners.

1968 Statistics (Mission Handbook)

~~Asia~~

World Population 3,280,522,000

Christians 1,019,400,000 (31%)

R.C. 581,000,000 (57%)
Prot. 316,286,000 (31%)
Orthodox 122,100,000 (12%)

Asia (& Oceania)

Population 1,827,861,000
Christians 73,195,800 (4% of total pop)

R.C 58,200,000
Prot 13,545,300
Orth 1,450,000

Africa

Population 306,173,000
Christians 68,208,000

R C 29,100,000
Prot 21,608,000
Orth 17,500,000

Cat. Am. (S & Central)

Population 290,730,000
Christians 216,061,000

R C 205,500,000 (Central + South).
Prot 10,311,000
Orth 3,250,000

Oceania

Population 18,711,000
Christians 13,439,000

R.C. 3,700,000
Prot 9,649,000
Orth 90,000

N. America

Population 290,730,000
Christians 131,756,000

R.C. 52,000,000
Prot 76,756,000
Orth 3,000,000

Europe (incl. USSR)

Population 671,303,000
Christians 515,915,000

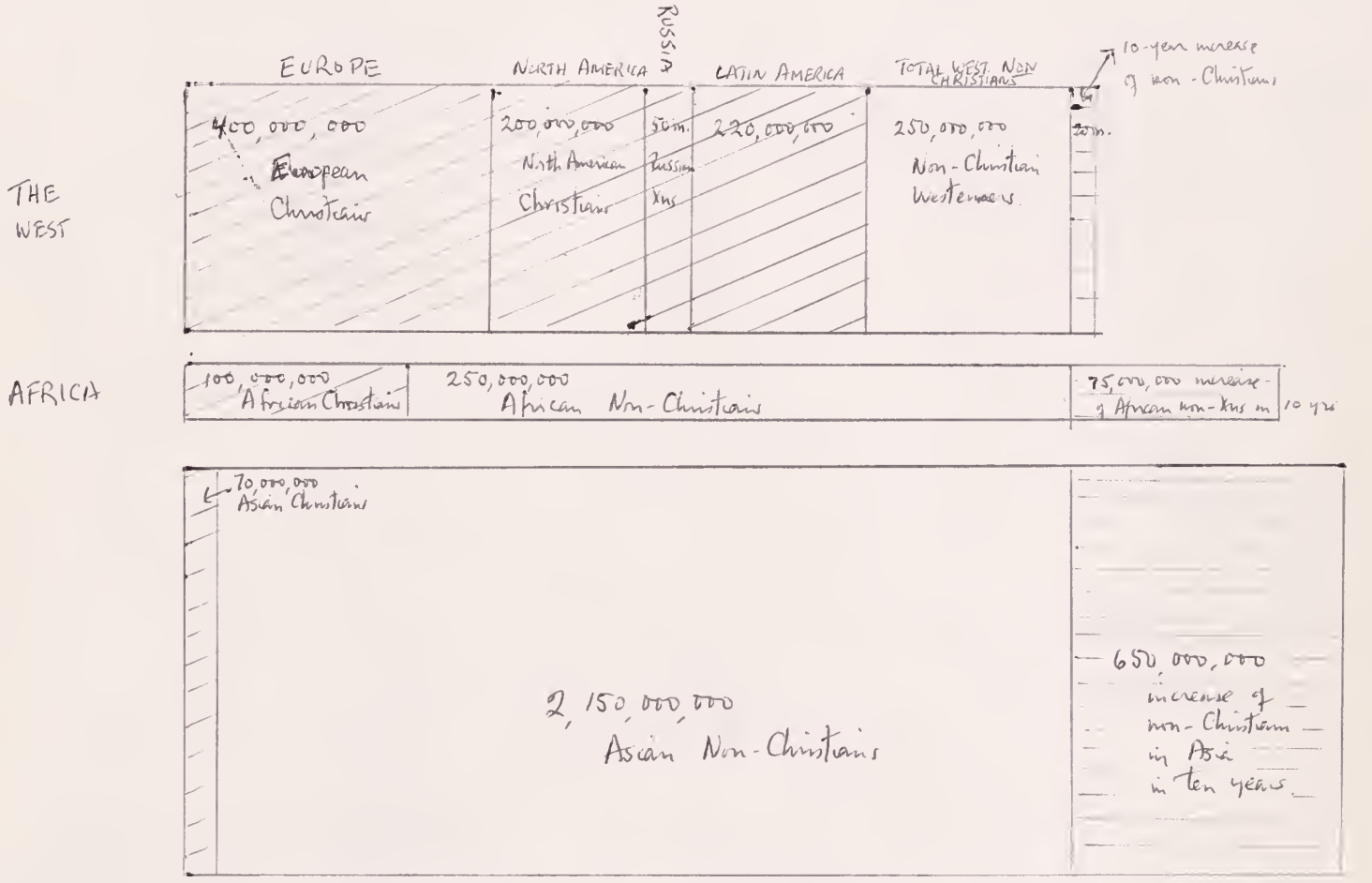
R.C 237,520,000
Prot 179,715,000
Orth 99,000,000

	Pop.	Xns
Asia	1,827,861,000	73,195,000
Africa	306,173,000	68,208,000
Oceania	18,711,000	13,439,000
	2,152,745,000	154,842,000

N. America	290,730,000	131,756,000
Europe	671,303,000	515,915,000
	962,033,000	647,671,000

2. More recent statistics indicate a second important fact: the non-Western world not only has most of the world's non-Christians, but also has the greatest population growth, so that the number of non-Christians in the world today is increasing at an alarming rate. And most of this increase is in Africa and Asia.

Dr. Ralph Winter of Fuller Seminary has prepared a chart which shows this very clearly:--



2. ~~The~~ A ~~second~~ third fact to be reckoned with in any analysis of Christian missions today, is that <u>the center of the missionary movement has shifted</u>, in the West, <u>from Europe to North America</u>.

The balance of the weight of the Mission does not lie in Europe. In fact, Europe has once again become a mission field. "Look at Europe," I once heard a Chinese student say. "If that is what Christianity does to a continent, we do not want it here in Asia." But Europe is no longer a Christian continent.

For example, France has been called "the eldest daughter of the Roman Catholic Church". But now, not over 10% of the French people are believers or regularly practice any kind of religion. ~~"Most Europeans~~ On my recent furlough, to take England for another example, I was shocked to find that although 78% of the people in Britain (including Scotland) claim to be church members, only about 10% regularly attend any church. And in all of England (not including Scotland) there are less than 360 Presbyterian churches, which is less than in the city of Seoul, alone. "Most ~~of~~ Europeans", says Alexander McLeish, "are facing a world without foundations and without hope".

True, the modern foreign missionary movement began in Europe, and during the great century of missions, the nineteenth, more Roman Catholic missionaries went out from France than from any other country (Latourette, <u>The Christian World Mission</u>, p. 79). But now the balance has shifted. The center is now in North America.

A brief comparison of the relative involvement of Europe and North America shows this very clearly in a number of ways:

1) For one thing, Europe may have more Christians (at least on the church rolls), but North America has more <u>money</u> for mission.

"As late as 1900," writes Latourette in his <u>Expansion of Christianity</u> (vol. IV, p. 95) more money was given and more missionaries went from the British Isles than from the United States, but by 1914 the U.S. had outstripped Great Britain and were giving almost one-half of the total Protestant contribution for missions."

What a change there has been since the beginning of American foreign missions in 1812, when family and friends gathered at the dock to bid farewell to the first small group of American missionaries ever to sail overseas to the foreign field. There were only eight missionaries, and the salary of a single missionary was figured at $444.44 a year. In that year, 1812, the American people spent a total of $9,687 on foreign missions. In 1950, by contrast, the total American Protestant support of its foreign missions was reported to be $56,567,292. From $9,000 to $56,000,000. That ~~shift~~ increase is

one important factor in the shift of balance in the foreign missionary movement from Europe to North America. But one footnote must be added. Since 1950, first in West Germany, and to a lesser extent in Holland, the state collected church tax has designated an increasing amount of subsidy to aid programs abroad, particularly church-related projects, both Catholic and Protestant. Korean projects which have received such aid include the Taegu and Chunju Presbyterian Hospitals, and the Christian Academy in Seoul.

In 1938 the annual cost of Protestant missions was reported to be $60,000,000, over half of which came from the West. (Van Dusen, World Christianity). And by then, the major portion of the West's contribution to foreign missions was coming from the United States. The dramatic rise of American stewardship for foreign missions is shown in the table below:

U.S.A . Contributions to Foreign Missions

1812	$ 9,687	) C. Fahs, Trends in Prot.
1901	5,300,100	) Giving; T.S. Donohugh,
1950	56,567,292	) Study of For. Mis. Financing
1963 (NCC)	90,924,133	(NCC USA, Statistics of
1968	325,000,000	Church Finances, Nov, 1964)
1972	393,000,000 (Missionary Research Library)	NA Prot. Min. Overseas Director

2) In the second place, Europe may have more Christians, but North America sends out more missionaries.

Up to the time of World War II, the number of missionaries sent out from Europe and from North America were about equal, in the Protestant church. (Europe has always been, and still is, the main center of Roman Catholic missions). By 1951, however, the trend in Protestant missionary sending was shifting from Europe to America. In that year a little more than half, 15,000 of the world's 28,000 Protestant missionaries were from North America. By 1968, North America alone was sending out 32,000 foreign missionaries. (North American Prot. Ministries Overseas Directory)

A comparison of the results of European and Anglo-Saxon and North American foreign missions again indicates the preponderance, in 1938, of Anglo-Saxon and North American missionary enterprise:

> British missionaries have brought into the world three times as many younger Christians as the Continental Societies.
> North American missionaries have brought into the world four times as many younger Christians as the Continental Societies.
> Seven-eighths of the mission field (Protestant) has been evangelized by Anglo-Saxons.
> (H. P. Van Dusen, World Christianity, pp. 7, 127)

To put it another way, one-half of the world's Protestaant missionary outreach has been sponsored by the churches of North America. Three-eighths by the churches of Britain and Australia, One-eighth by the churches of Continental Europe.

"As late as 1936," wrote Dr. Harold Lindsell in 1966, the number of missionaries recruited in North America was still fewer than those sent out from Europe. Since then there has been a radical inverseion. Whereas approximately one-third of the missionary force came from North America in 1911, approximately two-thirds do so today (1966)". (The Church's Worldwide Mission, p. 5) The latest over-all statistics report 32,000 Protestant missionaries from North America are at work overseas. (~~North American Protestant Ministries Overseas~~ Directory, 8th ed. Waco, Tex. 1968, p. VIII-2). Today (1974), 70% of all Prot. missionaries overseas are from North America. (Ibid. 10th ed. 1973, p. 6).

The following statistics indicate the phenomenal growth of the number of American (U.S.A.) foreign missionaries:

1820	43	of	world's	458	Prot.	for.	Missionaries	were	USA:	10%
1868	481	"	"	1774	"	"	"	"	"	27%
1925	13,555		"	28010	"	"	"	"	"	48%
1950	15,039		"	26,916 ('49)		"	"	"	"	56%
1968	32,000		"		"	"	"	"	"	66%
* 1972	35,070			50,000		"	"	"	" *	70%

(Statistics from R. P. Beaver, "North American Mission Boards and Their Task, 1952, mimeo; Rufus Anderson, Foreign Missions, their Relations and Claims, N.Y. 1869; Lindsell, op. cit., N.A. Prot. Ministries, op. cit. 1968.

From 1918 to 1968 R.C. missionaries from U.S. grew from a handful to 9,600; then by 1973 declined to 7,600 (Mission Hdbk 1973 p. 40). But Catholics ...

3. Still a third fact to be reckoned with in analyzing Christian missions today is that the role of the major denominations in foreign missions is declining, while that of interdenominational and independent agencies is increasing.

At the close of World War II, the first boat to take foreign missi naries from America back to their fields in the Far East was the Marine Lynx. It was crowded. The churches of Hawaii prepared to welcome them on their one-day stop-over in Honolulu. It was decided that each of the major denominations would take responsibility for hospitality for its own denominational missionaries, and representatives gathered at the dock under large signs--EPISCOPAL, METHODIST, CONGREGATIONAL, PRESBYTERIAN, LUTHERAN, etc.--to call out their own. But as the boat docked, and the missionaries poured ashore, only a trickle gravitated to the signs. Most of the missionaries were not from the large denominations at all. They were Nazarenes, or from Faith Missions, or Church of Christ and Evangelical Alliance and Seventh Day Adventist, and the like. No one was there to welcome them, but they had answered the call of God and were on their way by the hundreds and thousands. In 1973 the Mormons alone had 13,000 missionaries worldwide (Missions Handbook - 1973 p. 33)

There are now three major groupings of missionary sending agencies: The oldest, representing the major denominations is The Division of Overseas Ministries of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA (DOM-NCCUSA). But more missionaries are now being sent out under two new organizations: The International Foreign Missiona Association of North America (IFMA), and The Evangelical Foreign Missions Association (EFMA).

* 31,057 from U.S.A.; 1013 from Canada (Mission Handbk 1973 p. 50). But the peak year was 1967: 35,000

As early as 1960 Dr. David Stowe, then Assoc. Gen. Sec. of the DOM (Overseas Ministries) wrote, "the center of gravity of Protestant missionary sending agencies is shifting away from the 'ecumenical' agencies toward conservative and fundamentalist ones" (Miss. Res. Lib. Occasional Bull. Jan. 1964 xx. No. 1.) Since then, the DOM-NCCUSA has declined still farther both in percentage of total missionary force and in income for overseas mission, while the EFMA and the IFMA, in 1972 had about the same force + income as in 1969.

In the 1968 statistics:

(1) The EFMA (Evangelical Foreign Missions Assoc.), which includes groups like OMS, Nazarene, World Vision, Christian Reformed, Lat. Am. Mission etc.) had 7,369 missionaries and an income for missions of $37,500,000. Now about 7,400.

(2) The IFMA (Interdenom. For. Missions Assoc. of N. Am.) which includes groups like the Africa Inland Mission, TEAM – (A again WV. & L.A.M.) had 6,206 members, and an income of $16,500,000. Now about 6,500.

(3) The NCCUSA Division of Overseas Ministries, which includes the major denominations and the 7th Day Adv. (affiliates), had 10,042 missionaries and an income of $122,000,000. Now about 7,000.

But independent agencies outside all these groups had 8,406 missionaries and an income of 42,000,000

(68 figures from 1968 Handbook, '72 figures from Mission Hdbk. 1973 p. 94.

The ten largest single agencies in the number of missionaries employed (1972-73) are. (ibid p. 59)

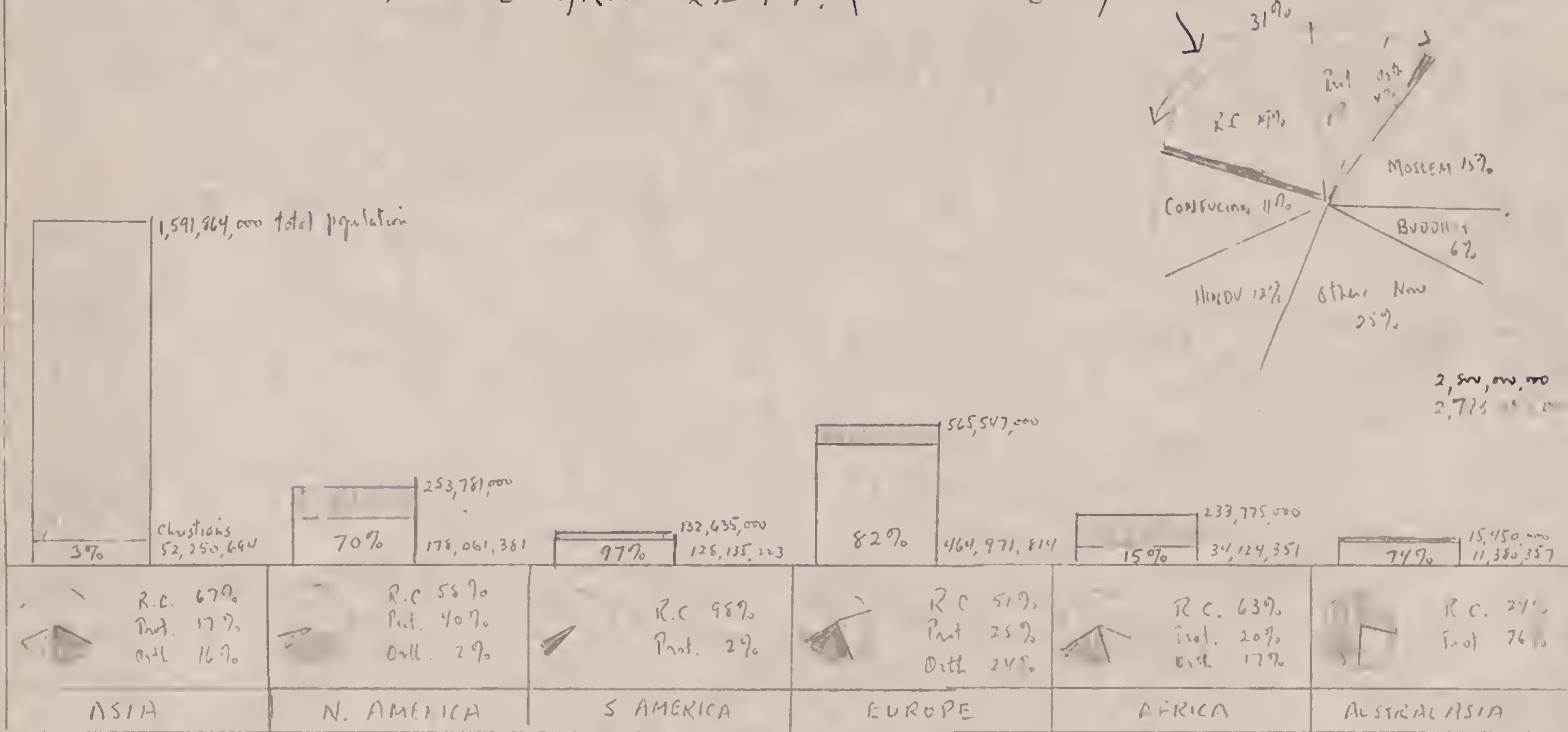
1. ~~Southern~~ Baptist. 2,507
2. Wycliffe Bible Translators 2,200
3 Churches of Christ 1,623
4. 7th Day Adv. 1,526 (DOM. aff.)
5. Youth With a Mission 1,009
6 TEAM 992
7 Assemblies of God 967
8. United Methodist. 951
9. Sudan Int. Mission 818
10. Christian + Missionary Alliance 803

(over)

But in money given for mission, the order is

1.	Southern Baptist	35.4 million
2.	7th Day Adv.	29. —
3	United Methodist	20.4 —
4.	United Presbyterian, USA	13.9
5.	Assemblies of God	12.4
6.	Protestant Episcopal.	11.3
7	Wycliffe	10.7
8.	Ch of World Service (DOM)	10.6
9.	Christian & Miss All.	8.0
10.	World Vision	7.3

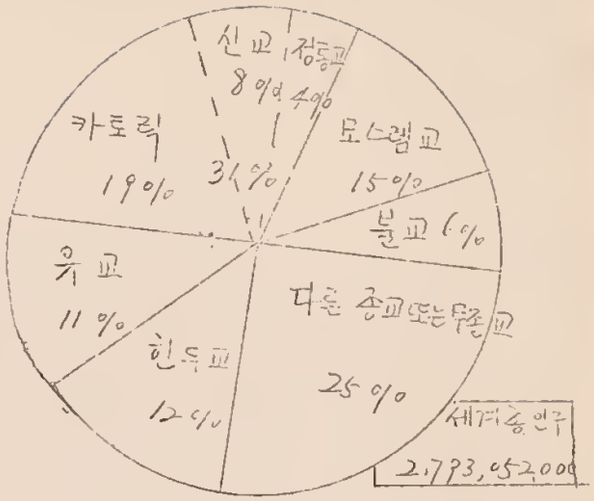
~~세계교회~~ 아세아에 교회를 알기전에 세계에 ~~교회~~ 에 있는 교인의 수를 먼저 대충적으로 알고 세밀히 아세아 교회를 차저보겠읍니다. 이 조사는 AP통신이 ~~조사한~~ 1961도에 조사 보고한 것을 보면 세계에 총 인구는

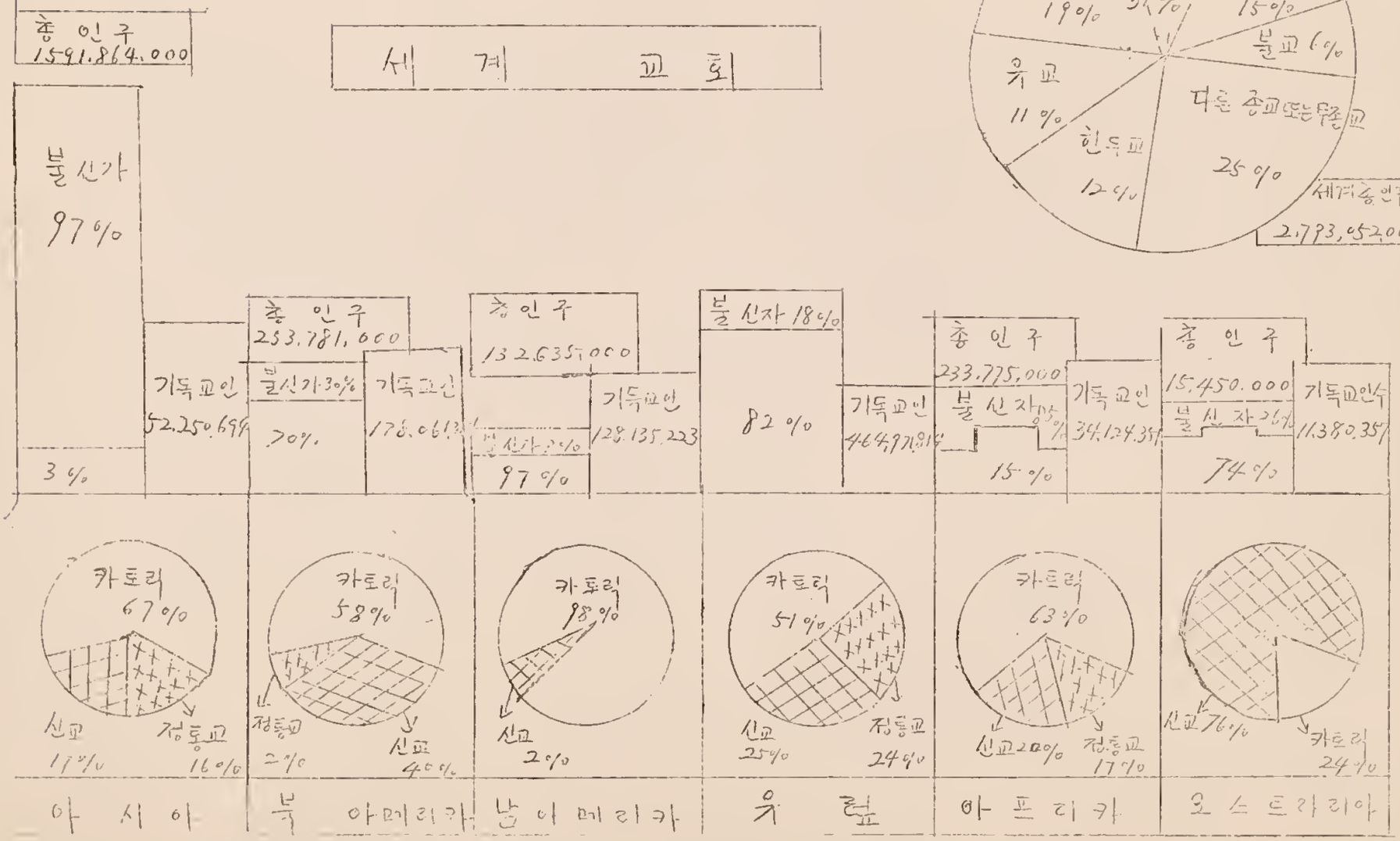


- AP - April, 1961
Jules Loh

※AP통신이 1961년조사발표한 각주통계표

세 계 교 회





Missionary income for major denominations declining –

1969 – $152.7 million

1972 – 131.0 " . (Mission Hdbk 1973 – p 74).

Largest agencies – p. 89

Most spent – p. 89

Countries ~~with~~ receiving most missionaries – 88.

Other than N.A mission statistics – total 18-20,000 p. 95.

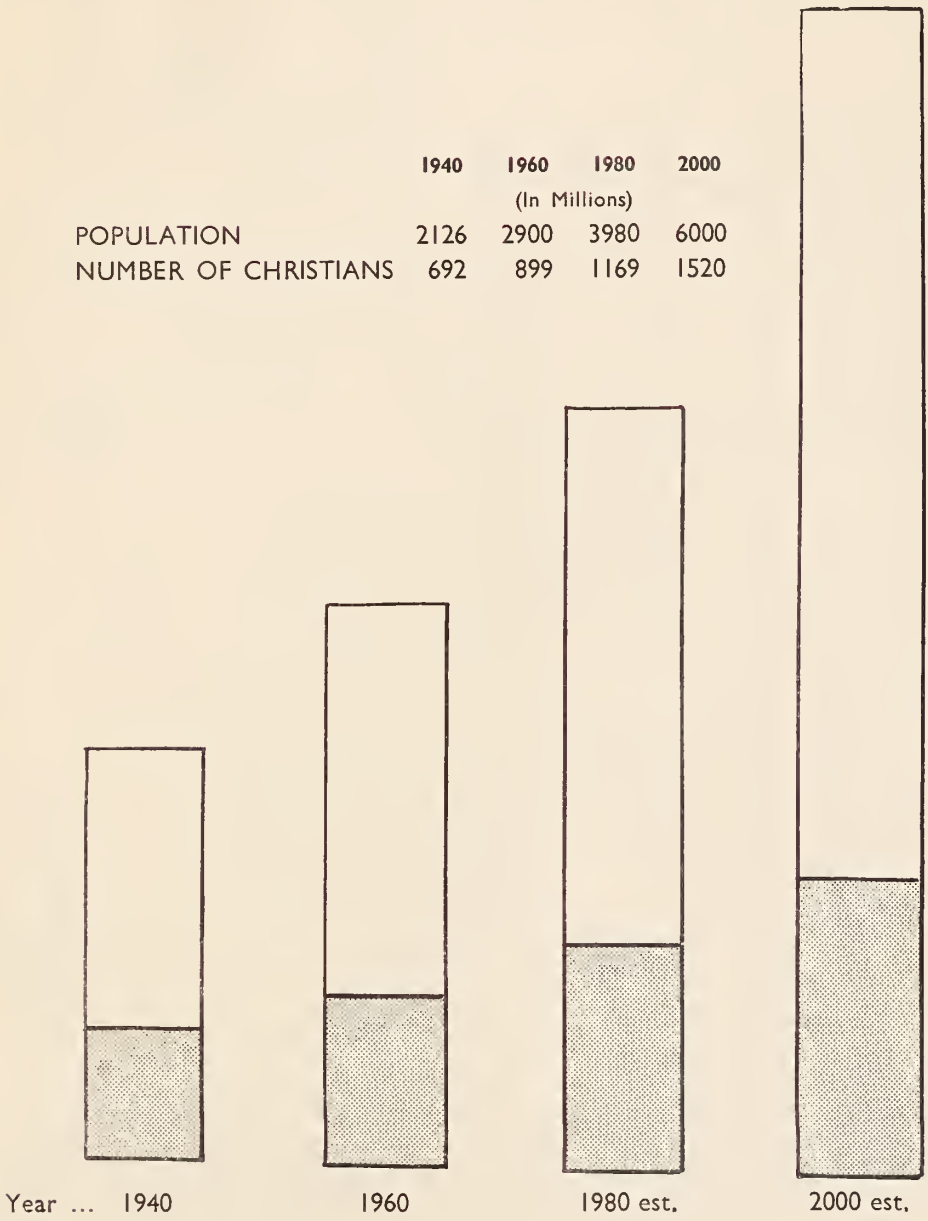
Great Britain – 7,500

Australia 3,200

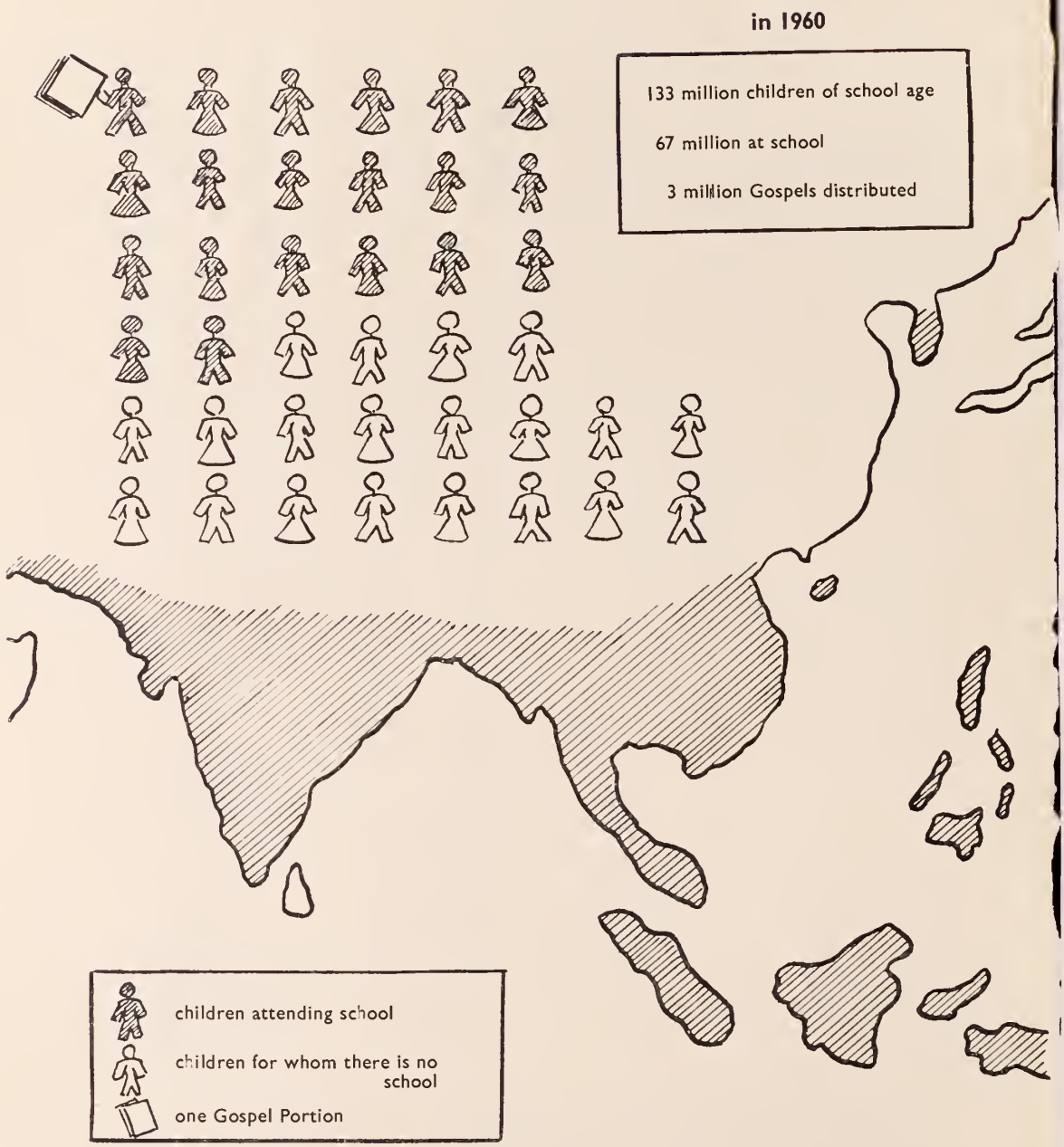
Third World 3,000 (Japan, Nigeria, India, Brazil

THE CHURCH IN THE WORLD

	1940	1960	1980	2000
		(In Millions)		
POPULATION	2126	2900	3980	6000
NUMBER OF CHRISTIANS	692	899	1169	1520

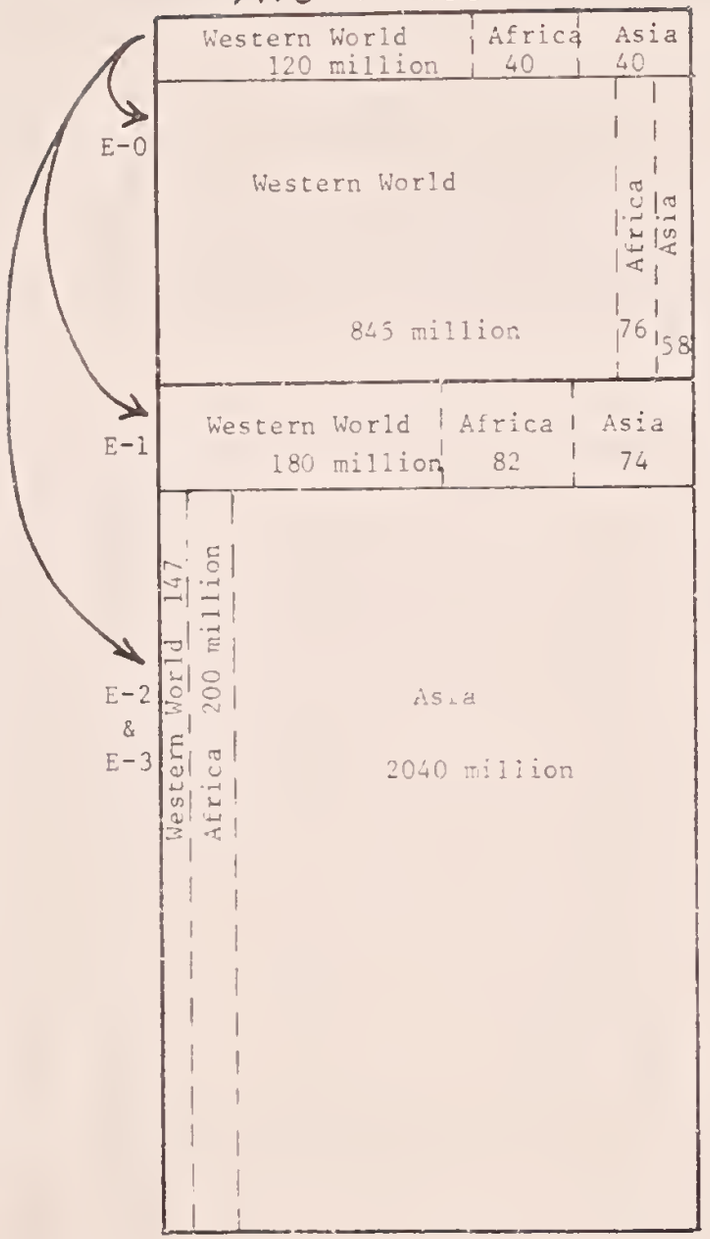


40 CHILDREN - ONE GOSPEL



BASED ON COUNTRIES OF S. E. ASIA FROM KOREA TO IRAN, NOT INCLUDING CHINA OR JAPAN

THE WORLD



Nurture
200 million

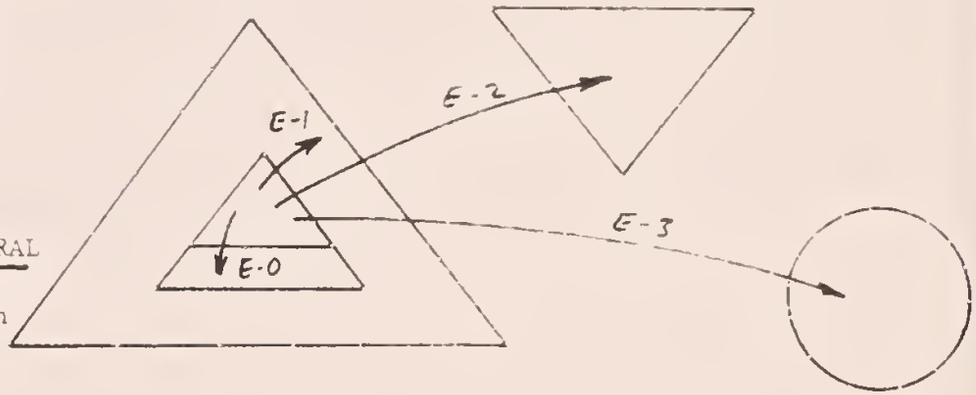
Renewal
979 million

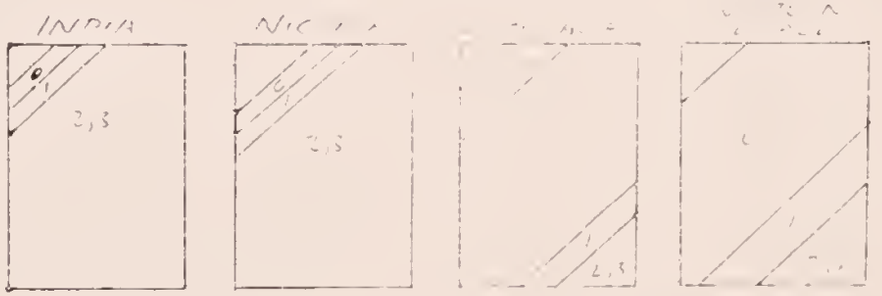
ORDINARY
Evangelism
336 million
13%

CROSS-CULTURAL
Evangelism
2387 million
87%

CHRISTIANS	Western	Africa	Asia	TOTAL
Nurture	120	40	40	200
E-0 Renewal	845	76	58	979
	965	116	98	1179
NON-CHRISTIANS				
E-1 Ord. Ev.	180	82	74	336
E-2,E-3, CC Ev.	147	200	2040	2387
	327	282	2114	2723
GRAND TOTAL	1292	398	2212	3902

13%
87%





SAT, 20 July 74

1-400 A.D.

I. The First Advance. (1-400 A.D.) Christianity Wins the Roman Empire.

"The first great geographic triumph of Christianity," writes Dr. Latourette (Expansion I, p. 66), "was the winning of the cultural area into which it was born, the Mediterranean world" of the Roman Empire. It took five centuries, a period which may be roughly dated from 1 to 500 A.D. Latourette suggests that a more precise date for the end of the period might be 529 A.D., the year in which the Emperor Justinian I closed the ancient schools of philosophy at Athens, an act symbolic of the end of public acceptance of Christianity's greatest intellectual rival, Greek philosophy. We will say 400.

If it took 400 years for Christianity to win the Mediterranean world, it should not be discouraging to modern Asian Protestants that after only two hundred years of the modern missionary movement, Asia is still the least Christian of continents. Thus history teaches that continental mission strategists must plan in centuries, not merely in years or in decades.

This first great period of Christian expansion, from 1 to 400 A.D. is divided into two stages at the year 313 A.D., the date of the Emperor Constantine's famous Edict of Toleration of Christianity, as follows:

A. 1-313 A.D. The Winning of Freedom for the Faith
B. 313-529 A.D. The Completion of Conversion of the Empire.

A. Christianity Converts the Heart of the Roman Empire and Wins its Freedom (1-313 A.D.)

The first three hundred years of Christian expansion may be further subdivided into three sections:

1. The Jewish period. (to 100 A.D.
2. The Greek period. (100 to 200 A.D.)
3. The Latin period. (200 to 300 A.D.)

1. The Jewish period (1-100 A.D.). The first generation after Jesus: the Apostolic Age.

The first circle of expansion of the Christian faith centered in Jerusalem and was principally among Jews, or ~~at least~~ Gentiles who had contact with Judaism. It did not begin as a separatist movement from Judaism. The main preaching points of the first missionaries were the Jewish synagogues. But beginning with Stephen and Paul the new faith soon ~~started and~~ began to emphasize differences from traditional Judaism, attracting notice as more than another Judaic school, in fact, a new gospel larger and more universal than nationalistic Judaism. Its first martyr was Stephen, who preached that Jesus would "change the customs" which the Jews had received from Moses. (Acts 6:14). Its greatest missionary was Paul, who at Athens, for example, spoke not to Jews in the synagogue, but to the Greek philosophers on Mars Hill. His Epistle to the Romans, now usually read as a repository of systematic theology, is actually the first book on a theology

of missions, reminding Jews of God's larger purposes, the salvation of the Gentiles, and reminding Gentiles of their roots in Israel in the faith, and calling both to missionary evangelism (Romans 15).

Paul's mission centered about the great cities of his day. It began in Antioch which was probably the first large city of that ancient world to become a Christian city. From here he set out to evangelize the great strategic centers of Empire, the cities, where Roman government, Greek culture and Jewish trade and religion met, and which could become the radiating centers of evangelistic outreach. A famous book by an Anglican missionary to China, Roland Allen's Missionary Methods: St. Paul's or Ours?, was published in 1912 to challenge the modern missionary movement to return to Paul's Biblical strategy of mission, for the twentieth century, like the first, has become again a civilization of great cities. (See Christianity Today, Aug. 1, 1960, pp. 5, 13 f.) Allen wrote, "In a little less than ten years St. Paul established the Church in four provinces of the Empire, Galatia, Macedonia, Achaia and Asia. Before 47 A.D. there were no churches in these provinces; in 57 A.D. St. Paul could speak as if his work there were done.." The secret was his skillful choice of strategic centers: Ephesus in Asia, Philippi in Macedonia, Corinth in Greece, and Rome. What are the key cities in today's world?

Other important factors in Paul's missionary strategy were: 1. Reliance on the Holy Spirit, not on the cooperation of governments; 2. Reliance on local self-support, not on foreign money; and 3. Reliance on voluntary evangelism by Christians, not by paid, professional missionaries or ministers.

2. The Greek Period (100 - 200 A.D.)

After about 100 A.D. the center of the Christian mission followed the lead of the Apostle Paul and shifted from the Jewish to the Greek world. The hope of converting the Jews as a nation faded. Christianity lost its identification with the Jews, and in so doing became exposed to persecution, for only the Jews had been granted the right of exception from worship of the Emperor. But despite persecution, the faith spread rapidly, particularly in the cities. It was becoming an urban, Hellenistic phenomenon. By 180 A.D. the records show that Christianity had penetrated all the provinces of the Roman Empire, and had even begun to move across the borders of Rome into Asian Mesopotamia. (Latourette, ibid, p. 85).

3. The Latin Period (200 - 300 A.D.)

But the greatest period in this first age of expansion was the century and a quarter between the death of Marcus Aurelius and the conversion of Constantine (180 to 311 A.D.) By the end of this period, progressing and growing through all the great Roman persecutions, the Christian faith had won its footholds from the Persian Empire in Asia, to Ethiopia in Africa, and to the far edges of

Europe in the remote island of Britain. Its character had also changed. By about 250 A.D. the Roman clergy had become predominantly Latin. In earlier periods the New Testament, for example, was written in Greek, and in the East as the Eastern Empire grew up around Constantinople, the church's language remained Greek, but by the third century the language of the church in the West was Latin (Latourette, I, p. 95).

Two of the great missionaries of this period should be remembered. Both are named Gregory: (b 240, d 332).

1. Gregory the Illuminator, the Apostle of Armenia. About 300 A.D. Armenia became the first sizeable country in the world to become Christian. Gregory was of the Armenian nobility, related to the royal family. When Armenia was captured for a time by Persia, he fled into Roman territory where he was converted. When his country was liberated, he returned and was asked to help restore the national religion of the goddess Anahit, which had been proscribed by the Zoroastrian Persians. But Gregory, now a Christian refused, and was imprisoned and tortured. His courage under torture and his unceasing witness finally converted the King, Tiridates and the conversion of the country quickly followed. In one day, it is said, 150,00 of the king's troops, clothed in white robes, were baptized in the waters of the Euphrates River. (L.C. Barnes, 2000 Years of Missions Before Carey, p. 79 f.) Bishop Neill points out two significant strategic factors in the conversion of Armenia: 1. It is the "first clear case..in which the conversion of a king was the first step in the conversion of a whole country". (Abgar of Osrhoene is semi-legendary). 2. It was a thoroughly indigenous movement: Gregory preached in Armenian; in 406 the patriarch Mersob invented a new alphabet for the Armenian language and the New Testament translation into it was completed by 410. Race, language, culture, politics and the Christian religion became unseparably Armenian, giving the whole people an identity that not even the loss of their homeland has been able to take from them. The Armenian church survives as one of the most ancient in the world.

1. Gregory the Wonder-Worker (Thaumaturgus) (b. 213), the Apostle of Pontus, along the southern shore of the Black Sea. Converted by the great theologian Origen, he returned to Pontus and was made bishop. When he died 30 years later in 270 A.D., it was said that when he became bishop there were only 17 Christians in his diocese; when he died there were only 17 pagans there. (Lat. I, p. 89)

By the time Constantine finally recognized Christianity in 313 A.D. the faith was everywhere in the Empire, but it can hardly be called a mass movement. Probably not more than 15% of the Empire was Christian. (S. Neill, in Concise Dictionary of the Christian World Mission, "Expansion..", p. 201), which would

be about the same proportion or a little larger as in South Korea today. The current estimate here, 1973, is about 13%, counting the marginal cults.

In some parts of the Empire, however, notably in the East, Christians may well have constitute an actual majority of the population by 300 A.D. Estimates, of course, vary widely. In Rome, for example, Latourette estimates there were 30,000 Christians by 250 A.D., based on deductions from a passage in Eusebius (Lat. I, p. 95, citing Eus. l.vi. c. 43); but Gibbon, the historian of the decline of Rome, using the same passage, estimated there were 50,000 Christians then in Rome (Gibbon, Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, p.542, chap. XV). As for the Empire as a whole, Gibbon says not more than a twentieth, or ~~5~~ 5% of the people were Christian, but another historian, Staudlin is quoted by Harnack as estimating that fully a half, 50%, of the Roman Empire was Christian by the time of Constantine. Harnack himself, in the classic history of the period, The Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries (tr. J. Moffatt, vol. 2, pl 454) thinks that in the East the Christian population may well have been over 50%, but was considerably less in the West. At the least, he says, even by 250 A D. Christians must have numbered between three and four million, and perhaps much more. Latourette's final estimate of the Christian population of Constantinian Rome is betwen 1/20th and 1/8th of the total population, (Ibid, p. 108) which would be between 5% and 12%.

1-400 A.D.

B. Christianity Completes the Conversions of Rome, and Spreads South and East, North and West.(313-430 AD)

This first period of Christian advance, continuing the winning of the Roman Empire, may be arbitrarily ended at 400 AD (as Winter dies), or in 430 (the death of Augustine), or in 529 (as in Latourette), the year in which Justinian closed the Schools of Philosophy in Athens. But however it is dated, the period ends with the Roman Empire permanently Christian, and the faith strongly expanding across northern Africa to the south, into Persia on the east, and up through Europe to the northwest.

1. The unity of the church. The church stemmed the growth of doctrinal deviations by erecting two great walls against heresy: canon and creed. The central unifying principle was the authority of Scripture. The Old Testament, of course, was always considered authoritative, or canonical. The oldest Christian sermon extant (called II Clement) adds the writings of the apostles to the status of "Scripture", about 150 AD., and at the same time the Gospels were read in Rome in worship along with the OT. By 200 the west had an accepted, canonical text of the New Testament, which reached its final form by 400 AD. The second wall was a recognized creed. In this period, the church not only completed the canon, but also began the process of agreeing on a systematic summary of the basic doctrines of Scripture. Constantine himself called the first Ecumenical Council of Nicaea (325 AD) which adopted the Nicene Creed. Its main point was: Jesus is God. The Second Ecumenical Council, Constantinople, in 381, added the equally important declaration: Jesus is Man. In Scripture and in the creeds, the church united.

A third center of church unity was its organization. By the time of Constantine, the form of that organization, which had grown up around the bishops, was changing. Traditionally four of the bishops had special authority: Jerusalem, Antioch, Rome and Alexandria. But Jerusalem had lost its importance, and Antioch was declining. Meanwhile, Constantine founded a new capital, and the bishop of Constantinople began to demand equal recognition in this period. Rome demanded even more.

2. The expansion of the church.

In the one hundred years or more after Constantine Christianity completed its conversion of the Roman empire, and reached out beyond the edge of empire into Africa, Asia and Europe, to Ethiopia, Persia and Britain.

Within the empire, from Alexandria as a base Christianity spread all across the coast of North Africa, and Egypt was almost solidly Christian by the end of the fifth century. Great names in African Christendom included Athanasius, patriarch of Alexandria (328-373) and defender of the faith, and Augustine who was converted in 386 and became one of the four greatest theologians the church has ever produced (Paul, Augustine, Aquinas and Calvin).

Syria and Palestine, centering around Antioch and Jerusalem, found the conversion of the rural Semitic population very slow. But in eastern Europe, from Constantinople under the great preacher and patriarch Chrysostom, missionaries and monks spread the faith widely throughout Greece and particularly among the Gothic tribes on the border. "There would be no more heathen," said Chrysostom, "if we would be true Christians". But it was Rome which became the great center for the conversion of Europe. As late as the end of the 4th century the majority of the Roman senators were still pagan, but the decline of the empire turned people's eyes to the church as their chief strength in time of trouble. The greatest bishop of the period was Ambrose of Milan, and Rome's most famous missionary was Martin of Tours, born about 316 to a military family who carried the gospel as soldier, monk and missionary bishop far up into the French countryside, preaching, destroying temples and baptizing.

Outside the empire, also, the church began to move south and east and north. Frumentius, a castaway on the Ethopian coast of the Red Sea, preached to the emperor of Ethiopia at Axum, and in 341 journeyed to Alexandria to ask Patriarch Athanasius for missionaries. "Go back yourself," said Athanasius, and promptly consecrated him bishop of Ethopia. On the northern edges of the eastern Roman Empire, Ulfilas, though somewhat heretical as a moderate Arian, was so successful in reaching the barbarian Goths for Christ that he was made their bishop in 341. His greatest achievement was to reduce the Gothic language to writing and translate the Bible into its alphabet,--the first or second instance of what became a great missionary pattern. But in the east, across the Roman border in Persia, the conversion of a Roman emperor brought persecution, not rejoicing, for Christians were immediately suspected of being Roman sympathizers. There, from 339 to 379, forty years of intense persecution brought missionary outreach to a standstill.

Nevertheless this was indeed the period of advance. In only a little more than four centuries the Christian church had been transformed from an obscure Jewish sect in a provincial corner of the empire into the unifying faith of the whole Roman world, and had begun to spread beyond its native Mediterranean culture north among the European barbarians, south into Africa, and east across the greatest continent of all, Asia.

What was the secret of its success. Latourette lists some of the reasons historians have given: 1. The favour of the emperor. But by the time Constantine became Christian, it was already so strong it would have won without him. 2. The disintegration of society. But why Christianity, then, instead of one of the other new faiths like Mithraism, which was so strong in the Roman army? 3. Strong church organization. But where did the church get the vitality for this kind of strength? 4. Its inclusiveness. Judaism was for Jews; Mithraism for men, but Christianity for all. But why? 5. The witness of the martyrs, and its moral character. But the Jews too had martyrs and high morals. 6. Miracles. But other faiths claimed miracles too.

The only satisfactory rason for the success of the Christian faith, concludes Latourette, is Christ. "Without Jesus Christianity would never have been, and from him came the distinctive qualities which won it the victory" (I, p. 108)

T. Cambridge Medieval History
J. B. Bury, H. M. Gwatkin, J. P. Whitney
Vol. I, Map 8
Cambridge 1957

The Cambridge Medieval History
J. B. Bury, H. M. Gwatkin, J. P. Whitney
Vol. I. Maps 5
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Nestorian "Song of Transfiguration"

大秦景教 大聖通真歸法讚

敬禮大聖慈父阿羅訶
皎皎玉容如日月
巍巍功德超凡聖
德音妙義若金鐸
法慈廣被億萬生
愛靈昧却一切性
自被萬毒失本真 惟我
大聖法皇 高居無等界
聖慈照入為灰塵
驅除魔鬼為民鄣
百道妙治存平仁
我今大聖慈父
能以慧力救此億兆民
聖衆神威超法海
使我瞻拜心安誠
一切善衆普尊奉
同歸大法乘天輪

敬禮
瑜罕難法王位下
(x) 以此誦 天寶藏經 多惠聖王經
(y) 阿思瞿 利律經

大秦景教大聖通真歸法讚一卷
沙州大秦寺法徒張駒
開元八年五月二日

720 A.D. (Brought by Kojima to Japan, 1934).
Japanese scholars call this: Nestorian "Song of Transfiguration"
Korean scholars disagree. See no transfiguration here.
References: (x) to Pentateuch, Psalms; Evangelion (Y)

Japanese scholar — Saeki, Yoshi-ro

The Earliest Asian Christianity

SAMUEL HUGH MOFFETT

IN a day when much is written on the urgency of "Asianizing" or "Africanizing" Christianity, lest it remain an alien growth on the continents of the Third World, it may be well to remember that indigenization (or contextualization, to use the currently more fashionable word) is no new phenomenon. It is as old as St. Paul, and historians have debated for decades whether the Hellenizing of Jewish Christianity in the West was an indispensable step in its growth, or an inexcusable dilution of its purity, or whether, in fact, it occurred at all.

It is too often forgotten that the Gospel moved east, and Asianized (if it was not, indeed, already Asian) as early as it moved west, and Hellenized. Why has not more attention been given to the Orientalizing of Christianity by the Nestorians? Before Christianity is too recklessly Asianized in the twentieth century, it might not be amiss to look back at church history and try to determine what Asianization meant in the first few centuries as revealed in the development of the Nestorian church.

One reason, of course, for the neglect is the comparative paucity of materials available on the Nestorian roots of Asian Christianity. The surviving documents are too slender a base to support some of the bold and contradictory statements made about these earliest Christians of Asia. Mingana (1925:347) calls them the greatest missionaries the world has ever seen. Legge dismisses them as "degenerate" (Foster 1939:112). Atiya (1968:265) selects 1000 A.D. as the date of the climax of Nestorian expansion and power. Foster takes the same date (987 A.D.) as the time of the eclipse of Nestorianism in China and the dismal end of two centuries of persecution and decline (1939:115ff.) In the field of theology the same contradictions persist. Nestorians are either heretics, condemned by the ecumenical councils, or they are ancient and apostolic Asian Christians untainted by the perversions of Western Greek philosophy (Bethune-Baker 1906).

Some of these contradictions are only apparent. Nestorianism is not an undivided continuum. In third century Osrhoene it could have been vastly different from what it became in thirteenth century China. In fact, third century Nestorianism is not, properly speaking, Nestorianism at all. Nevertheless, it is on this earliest period — the period of first adjustments to non-Roman, Asian culture — that I wish to focus, for here, I believe, is the earliest Asian Christianity.

A word about my use of terms: I will speak of the *Nestorian* church, though that name was not used officially by Nestorians until the thirteenth century. Their own proud name for their church was the Church of the East. But east and west are confusingly relative terms, and since to most Christians Eastern Church means Eastern Orthodoxy, it seems best to use the less accurate but more prevalent name, Nestorian. The term "Asian Christianity" is also open to more than one interpretation. In this article I use it culturally, not geographically. Jerusalem, Antioch and Armenia are all geographically in Asia, but politically and culturally they belonged sooner or later to the West, to the Roman Empire. "Asian Christianity" as used here will refer rather to churches that grew and spread outside the Roman Empire in ancient, Oriental kingdoms stretching along the Old Silk Road from Osrhoene to China, and from Adiabene to India.

The general outline of Nestorian expansion to the east is familiar. Already, before the end of the first century,[1] the Christian faith broke strongly across the borders of Rome into "Asian" Asia. Its first roots were probably in the tiny independent principality of Osrhoene and its capital city, Edessa, where the Euphrates River curves across the Syrian border into modern Turkey.[2] From Edessa, the faith spread to another small kingdom 400 miles farther east across the Tigris River, the kingdom of Adiabene, with its capital at Arbela, near Nineveh. Arbela became the "nerve center," as Mingana calls it, of Christian missionary penetration into Central Asia (1925:299).

By the end of the second century, Christians are mentioned as far east as Bactria in what is now northern Afghanistan, and mass conversions of Huns and Turks in Central Asia are reported from the fifth century onwards (*ibid.* 301ff.). By the seventh century, Persian missionaries had reached the "end of the world," Chang'an, the capital of T'ang dynasty China. The

Chinese received them courteously and promptly put a library at their disposal (Saeki 1951:115). But Chang'an was not the end of the world. The Chinese called it the center. Its empire was greater than either Rome or Persia, and its library larger than any in the West, including the famous library of Alexandria. It might well have become the center for the evangelization of Asia. But it did not.

One of the great mysteries in the history of missions is why Christianity, having at last reached the heart of the Chinese Empire, disappeared from there so quickly. Only two hundred years later it had virtually vanished. Most writers seek for the answer in scanty records that survive from the Chinese missionary frontier. It could be equally important to study more abundant records of its roots in Syria and Persia for clues to explain both the amazing strength of the Nestorian missionary advance, and its equally surprising collapse.

Early Syro-Persian Christianity may be divided roughly into four periods:

1. The Edessa-Arbela period: the Syrian roots. (100—226 A.D.).
2. The Sassanian period: the Persian base. (226—642 A.D.).
3. The Arab period: survival in isolation (642—1258 A.D.).
4. The Mongol period: revival and destruction (1258—1500 A.D.).

For purposes of chronological comparison, let me add some dates for Nestorian Christianity in China.

1. The rise of Nestorianism in T'ang China. (635—781 A.D.).
2. The disappearance of T'ang Christianity. (781—980 A.D.).
3. Temporary reappearance under the Mongols. (1200—1368 A.D.).

In this article I will deal only with the earliest period, the Edessa-Arbela, or Syrian, period. The principal primary sources include two works from the first two Asian theologians, that radically dissimilar pair, Tatian the ascetic, and Bardaisan the hedonist. Tatian's *Address to the Greeks* establishes the distinctively Asian character of Syrian Christianity outside the Roman empire while Bardaisan's *Dialogue on Fate*[3] proves the intellectual originality of the Edessene theological tradition. These two works are all that survive from the second-century theologians.[4] *The Acts of Tomas*, which is perhaps from the early third century, represents another side of Edessene Christianity, the

romantically superstitious popular faith of the time (see Klijn 1962). Another work, dating perhaps to the second century, the *Odes of Solomon* (Charlesworth 1973) throws light on the liturgy and asceticism of the period, and two later works, the fourth-century *Doctrine of Addai* (Cureton 1967:6-23), and the sixth-century *History of Mshiha-Zkha* (Mingana 1908:1-168) contain the traditional histories of the beginnings of Christianity, the one in Edessa, the other in Arbela. A different version of the Arbela tradition is found in the *Acts of Mari* (Abbeloos 1885), which dates to about the same period.

The Christianity which these ancient documents portray is the first clearly delineated expression of the faith outside the Roman Empire and, therefore, the earliest example of what can properly be called Asian Christianity (See Medlycott 1905).

Ancient tradition traces this Syrian Christianity back to earliest apostolic times. Eusebius, the father of church history, incautiously connects it with Jesus himself. A letter (he asserts) was found in the Edessa state archives written by Christ to King Abgar promising to send a missionary healer. The Jesus-Abgar correspondence became famous and the legend refused to die even after papal condemnation as spurious, in the fifth century (Segal 1970:62-77). It contains at least this much truth: Edessa is undoubtedly one of the oldest centers of the Christian faith in the world. It had the earliest known Christian church building; it produced the first New Testament translation, the first Christian king, the first Christian state, perhaps the first Christian poet, and even the first Christian hermits. The church building is mentioned in the *Chronicles of Edessa* in its account of a great flood in the year A.D. 201 which damaged "the nave of the church of the Christians" (*ibid.* 24). The first New Testament translation was Tatian's harmony of the gospels, the *Diatessaron*, which was probably compiled either in Edessa or Arbela (Burkitt 1904:76). The first Christian king, as tradition has it, was Abgar the Black, of Edessa, a contemporary of Jesus. This is doubtful, to say the least. But by firmer historical evidence, it could very well have been that king's later successor, Abgar the Great (A.D. 177-212), friend of the Christian philosopher-poet Bardaisan, and protector of the church. If so, then Asia had a Christian king and a Christian state a hundred years before the conversion of Rome under Constantine.[5]

But what kind of Christianity was the Syrian Christianity

which became the root-faith of Nestorian missionary expansion across the continent? For one thing, it was emphatically and unashamedly Asian. "I am an Assyrian," said its first theologian, Tatian, proudly, writing about 170 A.D. The whole thrust of his *Address to the Greeks* is a recapitulation of all the ways in which Asia (i.e., the non-Greek world) excels the West. Where did the Greeks learn their astronomy, he asks. From Babylon, from Asia. Their alphabet? From the Phoenicians, from Asia. Their poetry and music? From Phrygia, from Asia. Their postal system? From Persia, from Asia. "In every way the East excels," said Tatian in his *Address to the Greeks,* "and most of all in its religion, the Christian religion, which also comes from Asia and which is far older and truer than all the philosophies and crude religious myths of the Greeks."

This Asian Christianity for a thousand years spread faster and farther than either of the Western sects, Roman Catholicism or Greek Orthodoxy. It was further distinguished by intense missionary activity, excessive asceticism, theological orthodoxy (for the most part), and a quickness to indigenize, all of which help to explain its rapid cross-cultural expansion.

Its first characteristic was missionary compulsion. From the very beginning, Nestorian, or "Syrian" Christianity as it is better called in this period, was a spreading, evangelizing faith, growing so fast that within a century and a half it had broken out of its first bastions in the little semi-independent border principalities of Osrhoene (Edessa) and Adiabene (Arbela) and had permeated the Persian Empire from "the mountains of Kurdistan to the Persian Gulf" (Mingana 1925, 1:27; Stewart 1928:4). The widespread popularity of a "missionary romance" like the *Acts of Thomas* was no accident. Edessa's heroes were missionaries. Inevitably such literature abounded in dubious miracles and triumphalism, but there is also a curiously authentic note of reluctant compulsion in the old traditions of the first Syrian missions. Thomas, for example, in the *Acts*, goes to India, not in the all-conquering, aggressive manner of the usual missionary hagiographies, but is dragged fighting all the way against his "call" to Asia. The book opens with the apostles gathered in Jerusalem to obey the Lord's commission to "go into all the world." They draw lots to divide the world between them. When the lot for India falls to Thomas, he refuses to go. "I am too weak to travel," he says, "and how can I, a Hebrew, preach to

Indians?" He does go, finally, but only after the Lord, as a last resort, appears and sells him as a slave to an Indian merchant who carries him off in servitude to the east (James 1924:365).

The same note is found in one of the Arbela missionary traditions. Here, the missionary is Mari, disciple of Addai, the disciple of Thomas, who is sent out from Edessa "to the regions of the east" but writes back in failure, "The inhabitants are worthless heathen. I am not able to do any good." He begs to return, but the church orders him to persist, so reluctantly he sets himself to the evangelization of Persia (Abbeloos 1885:43-138; Stewart 1928:3ff.). There is no question that from the beginning the Asian church was a missionary church, and if in missionary motivation its missions seem to be more missions of obedience than of zeal and love, it was in this not at all unlike the primary pattern of the New Testament church (Acts 8:26ff.; 13:1-4).

Consciously or not, those first Syrian missionaries seemed to follow a strategy of missionary expansion which has almost always been characteristic of the church's periods of greatest advance, that is, evangelization not so much of individuals as of peoples in racial or cultural groupings as they become receptive to the Gospel. There is persuasive evidence that in the earliest period of Asian expansion these "bridges of God" (as they have been called by McGavran 1955) were the communities of the Jewish *diaspora* in Syria and Mesopotamia. In Edessa, for example, the legendary missionary Addai, finds his first shelter with Tobias, a Jew, according to Eusebius. Arbela's earliest Christianity was even more pronouncedly Jewish. Its kings had been converted to Judaism in the first century, according to Josephus, and the transition to Christianity must have occurred very shortly thereafter if the legends of Mari are to be believed.[6] At any rate, it is a fact that in the later sixth-century *History of Mshiha-Zkha*, the earliest bishops of Arbela all have Jewish names — Isaac, Abraham, Noah, Abel — and only later do the names become Syriac and Persian. Segal ably summarizes this aspect of the Syrian missionary advance:

> Christian evangelists found in the Jewish communities tools ready to hand for the diffusion of their faith; for they were close-knit congregations, respected by their neighbors, willing to accept the Christians as allies against the dominant paganism, well-acquainted with the methods of analysis and argument best suited to the theological climate of the country, and well-acquainted too with the doctrines of the Old Testament (1970:43).

The *Doctrine of Addai* had pointed to the Jewish connection long before: "The Jews also skilled in the law and the prophets, who traded in silks, they too were convinced and became disciples" (Cureton 1864:14).

Underlying and empowering the missionary spirit of the Syrian church was a trio of important virtues indispensable for Christian mission: discipline, faithfulness to the Gospel and adaptability. A political factor, also, should not be minimized, namely, that it was free to evangelize, more so at that period than was the church in the West.

The first of the trio is discipline. The example of the Apostle Thomas in the *Acts of Thomas* set the tone for an ideal of rigorous self-denial which permeated the early eastern church. This is how Thomas is described:

> . . . *he fasts much and prays much, and eats bread and salt and drinks water, and wears one garment*, and takes nothing from any man for himself, and whatever he has he gives to others (Klijn 1962:74).

The theological roots of this ideal can be traced back to Tatian, that most anti-western of all church fathers. His writings emphasize a radical denial of all the world of matter — meat, wine, possessions and even marriage.

But there was much that was not so darkly negative about Syrian asceticism, most importantly, perhaps, its concept of the Christian life as a life focused and disciplined by a direct convenant relationship with God. The discipline of the covenant appears in the earliest Syrian documents. The *Odes of Solomon*, found in 1909 and attributed to the primitive second-century Edessene church, lay particular stress on the centrality of the convenant. It is a discipline of commitment between God and man in which both are bound by an oath, a covenant promise, and in which "man's responsibility is taken as seriously as God's grace." The true Christian is a "son of the covenant" or "daughter of the covenant," bound to God by oath as a warrior against the world, the flesh and the devil (Voobus 1956: 13, 63, 100ff.). In this concept of the church as a "community of the covenant" lie the roots of Syrian monasticism, which Atiya (1968) has called "the backbone of Nestorian missionary expansion."

Another characteristic of that early Syrian Christianity was its faithfulness to the Gospel. This has not always been acknowledged. Until recent discoveries brought to light the

original teachings of Nestorius and cleared him of most of the charges of his opponents, Nestorianism suffered through the centuries from the stigma of heresy. Even the earlier Syrian church was unfairly made retrogressively suspect, though it had developed in harmony with the West for three hundred years before Nestorius was born, and though Nestorius was from the Roman west not the Asian east.

The theology of the earliest Asian churches insofar as we can reconstruct it from Tatian's *Oratio*, or in more popular form, from the *Acts of Thomas*, (or even to a lesser extent from the more aberrant Bardiasan), is not significantly more unorthodox than much of the writings of the western fathers in that age when orthodoxy had not yet been defined by the councils. Tatian, for example, takes apostolic authority as the test for scriptural canonicity, acknowledges the deity of Christ and the preexistence of the Logos, and even accepts the incarnation, which is by far the sharpest test of orthodoxy for this period (See Harnack 1901, McGiffert 1960, Bethune-Baker 1903). The *Acts of Thomas*, despite its exaggerated miracles, dubious history, and even perhaps a slight trace of docetism, despite also its attribution of female gender to the Holy Spirit as the "compassionate Mother," is still clear in its gospel message. Salvation is by faith alone in the incarnate, living, risen Lord, who, with God the Father and God the Holy Spirit, is alone to be worshiped and adored, and in whose name believers are baptized (Klijn 1962:77). It was an apostolic faith and an apostolic New Testament that Syria's Asian missionaries carried to the East.

A third characteristic of the Christianity in that early period was its adaptability. It indigenized. It quickly gave Syria the Gospel, not in Hellenistic Greek but in its own tongue. This recognition of the vital importance of evangelizing and teaching in the vernacular may well have been the most important contribution of Edessa and Arbela to the expansion of the faith. As early as the middle of the second century, about 150 A.D., the Mesopotamian scholar, Tatian, had translated the gospels out of the *koinê* Greek, in which he felt they had been imprisoned, and put them once again, harmonized in his *Diatessaron*, into the language of Jesus. Syrian Aramaic, which was the language of Edessa and Arbela, differed from the language of Palestine, says professor Burkitt, "hardly more than lowland 'Scots' differs

from standard English" (1889:12). It was not only the language of Jesus, it was also the language of the people, the lingua franca of the whole Syrian and Mesopotamian world. Not until the Gospel was presented in the popular tongue did it begin to spread outside the Greek-speaking cities into the Syrian countryside (Burkitt 1904:45). Emphasis on the vernacular remained a characteristic of Nestorian missions. In Persia, later, even when the ecclesiastical language remained Syrian, the language of mission was Pahlavi. In the Far East, Nestorian missionaries gave alphabets to Mongol tribes like the Uighurs so that they might read the Word in their own tongue.

The three effective marks of the primitive Syrian church, discipline, fidelity and adaptability, put their stamp so indelibly on the resulting waves of missionary outreach that four centuries later when missionaries at last reached China, the faith they brought to the court of the T'ang emperors was still called the "Syrian religion" (Saeki 1937:79) though the Nestorians had long since been expelled from Syria and had found a new church home and base in Persia.

It would be tempting to stop here, but there is a less appealing side of the picture which must be mentioned in closing. As the virtues of the early Syrian Christians of Edessa and Arbela help to explain the incredible achievements of Nestorian missions, so also do its weaknesses throw light upon the disappearance of that church from the pages of history.

Each of its virtues seems to have had an obverse, distorting shadow. Its discipline, for example, proved all too vulnerable to the warping influences of fanaticism. What began with the promise of a community of committed who had covenanted with God to save the world too often ended only as a scattering of unwashed hermits whose only covenant was to give up the world. These were the "Encratites", condemned by the West but revered in the East.

Tatian, a very Asian theologian, as we have seen, was called the "father of the Encratites." The word means "those who are self-controlled," and is used of extreme ascetics. There are hints of Tatian's renunciation of the world in his *Address to the Greeks*. The "ignorant soul," without the light of the Logos, he says, "if it continues solitary, . . . tends downward toward matter, and dies with the flesh." And again, "The perfect God is without flesh; but man is flesh," and sin and death come from the lordship of

matter: "Matter desired to exercise lordship over the soul" and "gave laws of death to men."

He is even more extreme in some of his lost works, but it must be remembered that these survive only in the quotations of his enemies and must be received with caution. It is in these works that he is said to have rejected meat, wine and even marriage. Jerome, for example, writes, "Tatian . . . the very violent heresiarch of the Encratites, employs an argument of this sort: 'If any one sows to the flesh, of the flesh he shall reap corruption;' but he sows to the flesh, who is joined to a woman; therefore he who takes a wife and sows in the flesh, of the flesh he shall reap corruption" (quoted in Roberts, Donaldson & Coxe 1903:82).

The same tone of abnormal self-denial runs through the *Acts of Thomas*. Marriage is considered sinful. The apostle is invited to sing at the wedding of a royal princess and sings so persuasively of the "incorruptible and true marriage" which is union with God alone, that the royal bride and groom renounce the joys of married life and consecrate themselves in perpetual virginity to Jesus Christ, the Heavenly Bridegroom (Klijn 1962:66-71).

This unbiblical, over-asceticism became the popular model of spirituality in the Eastern Church. Ascetic monasticism may actually have originated in Syria, rather than in Egypt, as is usually stated. It was not until A.D. 270 that St. Anthony of Egypt, whom Athanasius called "the founder of asceticism" renounced the world, whereas Tatian, the father of the Encratites, lived a whole century earlier. The lonely monks of the Syrian desert were even more fanatical than their Egyptian counterparts. They chained themselves to rocks. They bent their bodies under huge iron weights. They walled themselves up in caves. They set themselves on fire (Voobus 1956:passim). The first of whom we have record was Atones, who lived like a wild beast in the caves of Edessa, by the well where Jacob met Rachel. His only food was uncooked grass (Carrington 1957:212). In many ways the Encratites more resembled today's Hindu *fakirs* than Christian saints; so much so, in fact, that one recent scholar traces their wild excesses not to Tatian, but to pagan India through the corrupting influence of Manichaeism (Voobus 1956:164). Mani, it will be remembered, journeyed from Mesopotamia into India and back around A.D. 300, and Ephrem of Edessa, writing shortly thereafter, denounces him for bringing back "the lie from India."

By the end of the fourth century, the Western Church had begun to condemn as heretical the more radical sects of the Encratites. The West eventually managed to regulate its monasticism. Its monks became its scholars. But in the Eastern Church the ascetics were too numerous, too powerful, and too popular to be condemned and that Church capitulated and made its peace with them (Lietzmann 1961:169). Too often the saints of the early Asian church were the unwashed, celibate hermits and anchorites living in the caves of the deserts, or on high pillars baking in the sun.

It was a distortion of the Gospel that produced this warping of the concept of Christian discipline. What was said earlier about the Eastern Church's fidelity to Christian truth must now, alas, be qualified. It is true that the fundamentals of the faith can all be found in these second century Syrian documents, but it is also true that the second century in Asian Syria produced only two theologians — Tatian and Bardaisan — and of these two, the first was "half Father and half heretic" and the other had to be excommunicated.

Tatian has been defended from the attacks of Western opponents, such as Irenaeus, on the grounds that his Orientalizing of the Christian faith was no more of a distortion than their Hellenizing of it (Carrington 1957:164), but it is difficult to support a renunciation of the world so radical that Tatian begins to wonder whether a God who would create the world of matter which is evil could really be the supreme God. Tatian is so repelled by sex, even in marriage, that he doubts whether Adam was really saved, or that Jesus could be a physical descendant of David (Harnack 1905; Voobus 1956).

As for Bardesanes, it is still a question how far his conversion from philosophic gnosticism was able to "wipe away the filth of the old heresy," as Aytoun has put it. But he is at least a refreshing change from the grim asceticism of Tatian. What Drijvers has said about Bardaisan and Mani applies as well to the startling contrast between Bardaisan and Tatian. "The difference," says Drijvers, "is between an optimistic view of man and a pessimistic view, between an active fighter against evil and a passive ascetic, between acceptance of existence and longing for salvation" (1965:226).

Bardaisan (or Bardesanes, as he is known in Latin) was an Edessene nobleman, a sportsman, a friend of the King, a poet and philosopher who thoroughly enjoyed the luxuries of his

position.[7] His theology is a theology of freedom, not restraint. God made man free and commands him to do nothing he cannot do. Man's nature is not to do wrong, but to be free. Fate is strong and can disorder nature, but man's liberty forces back and disorders fate itself (Drijvers 1965:77ff.). Sex is not sin but is to be enjoyed. It is, in fact, purifying. It dilutes the amount of darkness in the world, says Bardaisan, and here he comes dangerously close to a more modern Asian heresy, the secret "restoration" doctrine of the *Tong'il-kyo*, the "*p'i-ka-rum*" or blood sharing of "the Rev." Moon Seon-myung.[8]

But such a comparison is not fair to Bardaisan. There is nothing unhealthy in his championing of normal human relationships against the abnormalities of the ascetics. His theological weakness lies in another direction: syncretism. His Christology, his sense of sin and his understanding of salvation are all inadequate because they have been deformed to fit an overarching cosmology derived from so many different sources that it is difficult to grasp any one coherent picture of it. Christ is not the great turning point in the cosmic process, for salvation had already begun, long before, at the moment of creation. Out of the Holy Ghost, the Mother, came two daughters, the earth and sea, and out of the sexual union of the Father and the Mother comes Christ, the Son of Life, who is also the Word of Life, the Logos. This Logos passed through Mary and found lodging in Jesus of Nazareth. The Father and the Mother (i.e., God the Father and God the Holy Spirit) are also the Sun and the Moon, and like the stars, have mysterious, spiritual power to shape man's fate and limit his freedom. Salvation and freedom come from knowledge, knowledge of the Logos, the Son of Life, the "spirit of preservation," which the Moon receives from the Sun and sends into the world (see Drijvers 1965:85-224).

In this confused and fanciful mixture of astrology, cosmology and theology are the seeds of Bardesanes' downfall. In the end, his keen, inquiring mind — Burkitt (1904:157) calls him "the only original thinker which the Syriac Church produced" — fell prey to the besetting sin of the syncretist, a willingness to adapt the faith so far that it loses its own Christian identity. Oriental astrology, Greek philosophy, sub-Christian Gnosticism, Persian magic and Hellenistic science all fought with the Christian faith to find a place within his system of thought. But the Greek and

Persian lions did not lie down easily with the Christian lamb, and in the end they destroyed Bardaisan.

Just as serious is the possibility that the popular Christianity of Edessa, the faith of the ordinary believers, was from the beginning cripplingly infected with pagan superstitions, and that the Christian literature of the time, rather than condemning it, accommodated itself to it. Bardaisan, at least, was finally charged with heresy, but the magical and mythological fantasies embedded in the *Acts of Thomas*, for example, which was enormously popular in Edessene Christian circles, were not only tolerated but perhaps encouraged.

An issue is the disputed cult of the Heavenly Twins in Edessa, and the purported adaptations of the St. Thomas missionary tradition to take conscious advantage of its popularity. Two great pillars, fifty feet high, still stand on the citadel in Edessa (now Urfa). It is claimed that they marked a temple of the Dioscuri, the divine twins of the Roman Pantheon, Castor and Pollux, the wonder-working gods of storms and healings and carpenters. The Roman deities may even have been later substitutes for an older, Asian set of divine twins, the Edessan gods of Nebo and Bel.

At any rate, it has been charged that when the early missionaries brought the Christian faith to Edessa, instead of trying to abolish the ancient pagan worship, they cunningly substituted for the pagan twins a set of Christian twins. But where would they find twins in the gospels? One was easy to identify, "Thomas, called Didymus" (John 11:16), or "Thomas the Twin." But his twin? This is where a questionable bit of adaptation is said to have occurred. In the *Acts of Thomas*, the apostle, called Judas Thomas, is the twin of Jesus himself! A demon notes the resemblance. A colt miraculously speaks and addresses him as "Twin of the Messiah." A bride sees the Lord and mistakes him for Thomas, but the Lord replies, "I am not Judas (Thomas), but I am the brother of Judas."[9]

If this is indeed not coincidence but a calculated attempt to trade on latent superstitions among the people of Edessa, and if this is one reason why the *Acts of Thomas* was so popular and the Thomas tradition so strong there, it raises serious questions concerning the honesty and methods, if not the motives, of the

first waves of Asian evangelists in Syria. It would represent a potentially fatal misuse of the principle of adaptation.

The example of Bardaisan and the Thomas legends in the days of the Nestorian beginnings are perhaps a foreshadowing of what four centuries later may have happened in China, when, as the Oxford scholar, James Legge has observed, the Nestorianism of the missionary frontier allowed itself to be "swamped with Confucian, Taoist and Buddhist ideas" and sank into a "degenerate, nominal" kind of Christianity (in Foster 1939:112).

Such harsh criticism may not be completely justified. After all, the final end of Nestorianism did not come until the conquests of the Persian Mongols, and then it was as much by physical annihilation as by internal decay. Nevertheless, just as the strengths of that early Asian Christianity do much to account for the breadth and rapidity of its expansion, so also its weaknesses may account in some part for its tragic disappearance.

Notes

1. J.B. Harnack's monumental *Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries*, lists no Christian communities outside the Empire in the first century, but later discoveries suggest otherwise.

2. J.B. Segal (*Edessa, The Blessed City*) thinks the first Christian center may have been Arbela.

3. For English texts of these speeches, see Roberts, Donaldson and Coxe (1903:59-83) for that of Tatian, and Drijvers (1965) for the *Dialogue*. This latter is sometimes ascribed to Bardaisan's disciple, Philip.

4. The "Thomas" churches of India, even if they date as claimed from the apostle do not emerge from the shadows of undocumented history until at least the fourth century.

5. Segal (1970:73, 80) doubts that Abgar the Great (whom he identifies as the VIIIth, not the IXth Abgar) was actually converted; Aytoun and others call him the first Christian king (1915:140ff.).

6. Segal (1970) emphasizes the Jewish element in Arbela's Christianity, and tends to date the conversion of Arbela even earlier than that of Edessa.

7. A biography of Bardaisan is to be found in the twelfth century *Chronicle of Michael the Syrian*. It is translated by F. Nau, *Une Biographie Inedite de Bardesane l'Astrologue. Tiree de l' histoire de Michel le Grand, Patrarche d'Antioche*, Paris, 1897.

8. *Tong'il-Kyo*, which is Korean for Unification Church, is known in the West by its full title, Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity (see Yun-Ho Ye 1959:40).

9. Rendel Harris (1903, 1906) links the cult to Edessa and suggests most forcibly the likelihood of syncretistic adaptation. But Segal (1970) rejects Harris' "elaborate theory" that the columns are to the twin deities. See the lively discussion in Marjorie Strachey's *The Fathers Without Theology* for further suggestions that there may have been a pious juggling of traditions.

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MISSIOLOGY

Introduction to Missiology

Missiology, or the science of Christian missions, is a comparatavely new development in the field of theological studies. This is rather surprising, since the church was from the very beginning a missionary church. But in its early years the church was spontaneously and unselfconsciously missionary. Led by the Holy Spirit, it did not feel the need for systematic and objective study of the reasons or the methods of its mission to reach the whole world with the good news of salvation in Jesus Christ. The Lord had commanded it. That was enough.

Moreover, in the early years the mission encountered few of the problems of communicating the gospel across cultural and national boundaries that are such a difficult, practical problem in modern missions. The first missionary work was done almost entirely within the boundaries of one cultural and national unit, the Roman Empire. Only when missionaries began to push across the boundaries of Rome into Asia in one direction, and into northern Europe in the other, did the conduct of Christian missions begin to demand more systematic consideration of its basic motives and goals and policies and methods.

Early Missiological Writings

It was fifteen hundred years before any books appeared which would be called "missiological" in the modern, scientific sense, but references and writings did appear here and there in earlier periods which dealt in some measure with the theory or the problems of Christian missions.

1. Augustinus Paul (d. ca. 64). All of Paul's epistles are really essentially missionary letters, full of missiological principles and examples but they are not systematized around the concept of missions as such. Not until the 20th century was any systematic study made of Paul's missionary methods and principles (see, for example, Roland Allen, Missionary Methods: St. Paul's or Ours?)

2. Augustine (354-430). In the fifth century, Augustine's On Catechizing the Unlearned, contains some good advice for missionaries, suggesting that in their teaching they should begin with what is easiest to understand in the Christian faith, and only gradually introduce the more difficult doctrines.

3. Pope Gregory I (540-604). Pope Gregory the Great was one of the greatest advocates of Christian missions in the history of the papacy, and is famous as the organizer of the first Catholic mission to England in 595 A.D. His Letters are full of statements on missionary strategy and methods. Gregory emphasized three main missionary principles: (1) The mission should be church-centered and church-controlled. (2) Missionary policy must be adapted and accommodated to local customs and cultures. (3) One of the most important goals of the mission must be to convert kings and rulers.

4. Thomas Aquinas (b. 1224). The first real handbook on missions did not appear until late in the Middle Ages. It is the Summa contra Gentiles of St. Thomas Aquinas, which was specifically written for the training of missionaries to the Mohammedans. Aquinas was one of the first to recognize that different kinds of unbelievers will require different kinds of presentations of the gospel. Jews, for example, already accept the Old Testament, and even heretics recognize the authority of the New Testament, or at least important parts of it. But Moslems, he points out, do not recognize the authority of Scripture at all. They must be approached, therefore, not so much with Scripture verses, but with an appeal to reason and logic, and must be led on from there by reasonable stages to a recognition of the claims of Jesus Christ.

Missiology in the 16 to 19th Centuries

INTRODUCTION TO MISSIOLOGY

Samuel H. Moffett

II. From the Early Church to the Fall of Rome

Introduction. The science of missions, or missiology as it is now being called, is still fighting for a place in the recognized theological curriculum. It is a new science found neither in the early church nor in the church of the Middle Ages. As for the Reformation period, the Reformers did not even seem to believe in foreign missions for the most part, much less have any science of missions. Even the modern missionary movement failed to develope a systematic, recognized missiology until the 20th century, and even now in much of the curriculum of theological education, missions courses are deprecated as being essentially more promotional than academic, more institutional than scientific, and better suited to winning recruits or raising money for the mission field than for objective, reasoned assessment of the church's purpose and strategy in the world.

In this lecture we will survey what we can find of a science of missions in the church from the apostolic age to the fall of the Empire: ~~— . we will divide the period roughly into two parts:~~

1. Missiology in the Early Church (1-500). This is the period that Latourette covers in his first volume, and deals with the first advance in Christian expansion.

~~2. Missiology in the Middle Ages (500-1500). This period Latourette covers in his second volume, and deals with the great recession (500-950), the second advance (950-1350), and the second recession (1350-1500).~~

A. Missiology in the Early Church.

It is often said that the early church had no science of missions. "The apostles," said Canon Green flatly at the Lausanne Conference in 1973, "had no missionary strategy", and called the churches today to emphasize the power of the Holy Spirit rather than techniques of missionary methods. In the New Testament there appears no over-all carefully thought out plan to win the world in obedience to the Great Commission. As a matter of fact the apocryphal, third-century account of how the apostles divided the world among them for mission has them quite unscientifically drawing lots to determine which one will go to what part of the world, and this is not as far-fetched as it may sound. Consider the record in Acts of how they picked a successor to Judas Iscariot. At any rate, the New Testament clearly emphasizes that they were not led by human strategy but by the Spirit. J. H. Bavinck writes in his Introduction to the Science of Missions, "The ancient church conducted missionary work as though it were self-explanatory; it never asked: Why do we have missions? And it never subjected its methods to criticism. Its testimony was so spontaneous and natural that it had no need of a carefully thought out basis... It was only when questions of concern to the further progress of missions arose that the church felt the need of justifying its course of action." (p. xii).

But that is not all of the picture. The same Canon Green

who said at Lausanne that the apostles had no strategy of mission, nevertheless describes their missionary methods at considerable length in his important book, Evangelism in the Early Church. He points out how they wisely used the synagogue meetings of the Jews as ready-made seed-beds for the gospel, and carefully rooted their preaching in Jewish culture and history (p. 194 f.) When they moved to mission among Gentiles they adapted themselves to open air preaching and started schools in the Greek fashion, like Paul's at Ephesus and Justin's at Rome (p. 197, 204). They recognized the importance of the home in spreading the faith and organized their first churches as house churches (p. 207 f.) They made wide use of literature, and even "invented an entirely new literary form, the Gospel, to carry their evangelistic message" (p. 229). As for missionary agents, the New Testament church made use of three different kinds: 1. Commissioned, ordained apostles; 2. Wandering, professional missionaries, or "apostles, messengers, of the churches" as Paul calls them in 2 Corinthians 8:23; and 3. Informal, amateur evangelists, the layman and lay-women of the churches witnessing simply to unbelievers about Jesus Christ. (p. 172 ff.) The greater part of the missionary outreach of the early church was actually the work of these non-professional evangelists.

Now it is probably true that these missionary methods were not organized by the early church into a unified strategy of missions, but it is difficult to read the New Testament without coming to the conclusion that the Apostle Paul, at least, had not only a goal but a consistent strategy, if not a complete science of missions in the modern technical sense. You should know one of the early great missiological books of the 20th century, Roland Allen's Missionary Methods: St. Paul's or Ours. In it he insists that Paul not only had a definite missionary strategy, but that Paul's methods were better than most modern missionary methods. I can only summarize briefly Allen's description of Paul's missiology:

1. He planned on a large scale, province by province not town by town.
2. He concentrated on strategic cities, intending that the Christians from the city churches would evangelize the province.
3. He picked out special classes of people as more open to the gospel and concentrated on them, Greeks instead of Jews, for example. But it is important to note that he did not aim at any one economic class of people.
4. He trusted his new converts to the guidance of the Holy Spirit, and left the new churches to their leadership and financial support.

After Leaving the New Testament, the age of the church fathers contains only scattered references to missionary outreach and a few incidental notices of missionary methods. The great missionary accomplishment of the peridd was the winning of the Roman Empire. But this was not cross-cultural missions. The world of the church fathers was limited to the world of Roman culture, and no science of missions in the cross-cultural sense was developed.

But we have one important missionary or evangelistic tract surviving from the second century - the Protrepticus of Clement of Alexandria. - (McGiffert, vol. I., p. 175 f.)

However, within the Roman world, three major sub-cultures presented a series of challenges to the spread of the Christian faith: the Jewish, the Greek and the Latin. The earliest Christian mission was aimed at the conversion of the Jews. But about the year 100 A.D., following the earlier lead of St. Paul and his call to the Gentiles, the ~~main objective~~ center of the Christian mission had shifted from the Jewish to the Greek world. Hope of converting the Jews as a whole nation faded away, and ~~by~~ by about the year 200 A.D. the Christian church had become more Hellenistic than Jewish. It had become an urban, Greek phenomenon. But then another shift occurred. The church's missionary outreach, again following the example of the Apostle Paul two hundred years earlier, focussed on the center of power, the Latin world of Rome. And here it won its greatest victory, humanly speaking, with the conversion of the Emperor himself, Constantine.

By the end of the first five hundred years the Empire was not only officially Christian it was actively anti-pagan. The sons of Constantine ordered the sacrifices stopped and the temples closed. (Latourette I, p. 175 ff.) In 529 A.D. the Emperor Justinian I closed the ancient schools of philosophy at Athens, an act symbolic of the end of public acceptance of Christianity's greatest intellectual rival, Greek philosophy. (Ibid, p. 66).

Most encouraging of all, beyond the edges of the Empire the Christian faith was beginning to spread across the world in true cross-cultural mission. The Nestorians were reaching east across Asia as far as what is now Afghanistan, and south as far as India and Ceylon. Frumentius, a captive slave in Abyssinia (Ethiopia), converted the king and brought the church into black Africa as early as 350 A.D. Ulfilas took the gospel north of the Danube to the savage Goths. It had reached far-off England when the British islands were still a part of the Empire, and when the Empire withdrew, the faith stayed and spread under missionaries like Patrick of Ireland.

But it is impossible to piece together any consistent pattern of missionary policy and strategy for the period. The church historians were more interested in the lives of the martyrs or the battles against heresies. They are not very reliable on missions. Eusebius may have been the father of church history, but he gives a very dubious version of the beginnings of missionary advance into Asia. He found, he says, a letter from Jesus Christ himself to Abgar, king of Edessa, in the city archives of Edessa, answering a letter from the king, and promising to send him a missionary after the ascension. He goes on to assume, without any real justification, that the apostles really did fulfill the Great Commission and reach the whole world with the gospel.

The church fathers in their theological writings produced no science of missions, but only occasional passages of missionary advice. Chrysostom (345-407), the golden-voiced preacher and patriarch of Constantinople sent missionaries to the Goths north of the Danube and urged them above all not just to preach but to live the Christian faith. "There would be no more heathen if we would be true Christians", he said (I Ep. to Tim. Homily X, quoted in Ltourette, I, p. 192).

The great Augustine (354-430) cautions those who would teach unbelievers Christianity to do it in easy stages, not all at once. Begin with what is easiest for them to understand, he says, life after death, rewards for the good and punishment for the bad; and then go on to teach about God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and the incarnation, death and resurrection of Jesus. (Augustine, On Catechizing the Unlearned). Augustine also, however, came to the dangerous conclusion that political coercion was sometimes allowable as a tool in Christian mission, saying, for example, that the pagans around his North African diocese should be punished with death if they refused to become Christians (Ep. 93:2 and 185:6, quoted in C. H. Robinson, History of Christian Missions, N.Y. 1915, p. 18), and interpreting the parable of the great supper, with its command "Compel them to come in" as justifying the use of force in conversion. (Ibid).

If there is any one pattern of missionary strategy that emerges as dominant in this first period of Christian expansion (outside the New Testament), it is the doubtful principle that the nation is best reached through the ruler. The missionary objective is conceived of in terms of national Christianization through conversion of the king. Perhaps this developed as a natural deduction from the quick Christianization of the Roman Empire after the conversion of Constantine, but the pattern can be found even earlier than that. The first Christian king was not Constantine but Abgar of Edessa, converted probably about 200 A.D. According to tradition, his entire little border kingdom of Osrhoene, between the Roman and Persian Empires, quickly followed the king's example, making it the first officially Christian state in history. In the traditional account of the beginnings of Christianity in India under the Apostle Thomas the same pattern is repeated. The King, Gundaphar, is converted, and all his people become Christian. So also Africa. The success of Frumentius in Abyssinia (Ethiopia) is directly linked to his conversion of King Ezana. In Ireland it is Patrick's conversion of the warring kings that makes Ireland the Christian Isle. Even in Arabia, which was Christian before it ever became Moslem, the secret of church growth was the conversion of the kings, or sheiks, like that of the King of the Himyarites by the missionary Theophilus. In the same way the conversion of Armenia under Gregory the Illuminator begins with the conversion of King Tiridates.

There is no similar dominance of any one pattern of missionary vocation and call, or of the sending of missionaries in this period. Some were impelled by a deep, personal call of the Holy Spirit, in visions or inner conviction, like Gregory of Armenia and Patrick of Ireland. Others were sent and commissioned by the church through officials and bishops, like Thaddaeus of Edessa and Theophilus of Arabia. There were others who were dragged almost unwillingly to the mission field as slaves or captives, like Thomas to India, or Frumentius to Abyssinia. And sometimes the agent of conversion was no missionary at all, but a layman or laywoman, as in the conversion of Clovis, King of the Franks.

Because the baptism of Clovis brings this period to an end

with what would seem to be a triumphant vindication of the policy of making the conversion of the ruler the first aim of missionary strategy, it deserves attention in some detail. The primary source is a history written in the 6th century, the ten books of The History of the Franks by Gregory of Tours.

The conversion of Clovis in 496 A.D. was a turning point in the history of the expansion of Christianity into northern Europe. The Franks (ancestors of the French) were a tribe of German barbarians moving, as Rome declined, like a scourge of locusts into Roman Gaul (now France and Belgium). In the middle of the 5th century they briefly sided with the Romans to defeat Attila the Hun, but then turned against Christian Rome. Clovis (466-511) became King of the Eastern Franks when he was sixteen, a young and savage barbarian chief fighting against other German tribes to the north and against Rome to the south. But in 493 he married a Christian princess from Burgundy, Chlotilda. A few years later in a fierce battle he was almost routed, and facing defeat and certain death he cried out, "Jesus Christ, whom Chlotilda praises as the Son of the living God," help me. If you will only help me win, I will believe and be baptized. Almost at that very moment the enemy king fell in the battle and his troops fled in panic. Clovis kept his promise. He came home and told his queen he was ready to become a Christian, not only himself, but up to 5000 of his troops with him.

The question for missiologists in all this is, How real was the conversion, and if it was only nominal, as seems likely, of how much lasting value is such a pattern of Christian missionary expansion through political structures which are only nominally Christianized. As with Constantine two hundred years earlier, so with Clovis, the issue is the same, and it has been hotly debated. On the credit side is the strong Christian influence of Clovis' wife. Christian queens were perhaps even more important in the conversion of Europe than Christian kings. Also to the good is the fact that Clovis took instruction in the faith from a priest before baptism. But on the negative side is the strong element of pagan superstition in the battle-field conversion, and his apparent ignorance of the simplest Christian realities at his baptism. As he came into the cathedral which had been lavishly decorated for the occasion, he was awed by its splendor and whispered to the bishop, "Is this the Christian heaven you have been telling me about?" But the most serious criticism of all is that his life after baptism showed little signs of his conversion. A German historian, Rettberg, has said, "His blackest deeds were done after his baptism" (quoted in T. S. Smith, Mediaeval Missions, p. 23). He was probably the most wicked Christian king in history, butchering his own family, looting towns, massacring whole villages, men, women and children.

This "conversion" of the Franks is often cited as a lesson in the superficiality of a missionary strategy that stresses baptism more than conversion, and national Christianization above the transformation of the individual by personal repentance and faith and trust in Christ alone. Nevertheless, the stubborn historical fact remains: as the baptism of Constantine turned the history of the Roman world decisively and permanently toward the Christian faith, so with the baptism of Clovis, France became Christian for the next 1300 years. It is a reminder that perhaps God can use even the inadequacies of our missionary methods for His own glory.

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INTRODUCTION TO MISSIOLOGY
Samuel H. Moffett

III. From the Fall of Rome to the Reformation.

As we saw in last week's lecture, the great accomplishment of the earliest period of Christian missions, the first five hundred years (1 - 500 A.D.) was the winning of the Roman Empire. But that victory was somewhat clouded by the nominal nature of the conversion of vast sections of the Empire. Too much of it had been won from the top down as much of the church's apparent missionary strategy had been directed toward the winning of the nations by the baptism of the rulers.

In the second period of Christian missions, in the thousand years from 500 to 1500 A.D., we find two important new developments: first, a deepening of the spiritual base of Christian expansion through the rise of missionary monasticism; and, second, an acceleration of growth in cross-cultural missions outside the Roman Empire.

This period has been divided into three sections by Prof. Kenneth Scott Latourette in his classic History of the Expansion of Christianity, volume II, The Thousand Years of Uncertainty, A.D. 500 to 1500:

1. The Great Recession (500-950 A.D.), which resulted from the fall of Rome and the rise of Islam.
2. The Second Advance (950-1350 A.D.), the roots of which had been planted by the invigorating influence and reforms of the monastic movement.
3. The Second Recession (1350-1500 A.D.), as the papacy became corrupted and Constantinople fell to the Turks.

For this brief survey, however, we shall consider the entire thousand years as one period.

The great accomplishment of the period was the conversion of Europe. The church advanced consistently northwards across that continent all through the millennium from 500 to 1500. In the 6th century the gospel won the Franks; in the 6th and 7th centuries the Angles and Saxons and Celts of Britain. In the 8th century the faith moved into northeastern Europe along the Rhine. The 9th and 10th centuries brought the Slavs of central Europe and the Balkans to Christianity. Hungary, Denmark, Norway and Russian moved massively toward Christianity in the 11th century; and Poland and Sweden in the 12th. The Estonians, the Prussians and the Lithuanians became Christian in the 13th and 14th centuries. Less consistent, but more dramatic, were Christian gains in Asia, where the Nestorians alternately rose and fell under Persians, Arabs and Mongols until they were finally virtually wiped out by Tamurland, the last of the Mongols, and the rising power of the Turks.

It may help to have a brief chronology of some of the important names and events of the period:

6th c.	529.	Benedict lays foundations of Western monasticism at Monte Cassino.
	549.	Hephthalite Huns (Afghanistan) receive Nestorian bishop.
	c. 550.	Christians in Ceylon (Taprobane).
	563.	Columba leads Irish monks to Scotland (Iona).
	573.	Columban, from Ireland to Europe (Luxeuil).
	596.	Pope Gregory I sends Augustine to southern England.
7th c.	635.	Alopen, first Nestorian missionary to China.
	c. 640.	(Moslem conquests begin)
	c. 645.	Aidan, missionary from Scotland to northern England.
	678.	Wilfrid begins Anglo-Saxon missions to northern Europe
	690.	Willibrord, "apostle to the Netherlands".
8th c.	719.	Boniface, from England to Germany.
	772.	Charlemagne begins forceful conversion of the Saxons.
9th c.	c. 826.	Anskar, from France (Luxeuil) to Denmark.
	861.	Cyril and Methodius, from Constantinople begin the conversion of the Slavs (eastern Europe).
	864.	Boris, king of the Bulgars, baptized.
10th c.	910.	Monastic revival and reform at Cluny.
	966.	Duke Mieszka of Poland baptized.
	987.	Baptism of Vladimir of Kiev begins conversion of Russia.
	995.	King Olaf Tryggvason makes Norway Christian.
11th c.	1008.	Olof Skotkonung, first Christian king of Sweden.
	1073.	Pope Gregory VII (Hildebrand) reforms the papacy.
	1096.	The first crusade.
12th c.	1190.	Nestorians return to China through Kerait, under Mongols.
13th. c.	1209.	Franciscan order founded.
	1215.	Dominican order founded.
	1245.	John of Plano Carpini, first R.C. missionary to China.
	1292.	Raymond Lull, missionary to the Moslems.
	1294.	John of Montecorvino, first R.C. archbishop of Peking.
14th c.	1395.	Conquests of Tamerlane begin to destroy Asian Christianity.
15th c.	1453.	Constantinople falls to the Turks.

A. Monastic Missions.

"In the conversion of Europe," writes Prof. Roland Bainton of Yale, "three Christian institutions were at work: monasticism, the papacy, and the civil state. Of the three, monasticism was the most important because monks were missionaries, whereas popes and kings were not." (Christendom: A Short Hist. of Christianity and Its Impact on Western Civilization. vol. I. N.Y.: Harpers, 1966. p. 136)

Monasticism, like Christianity itself, came from Asia to the West. It was brought into western Europe by Martin of Tours about 362 A.D., and was moulded into its distinctively western form by St. Benedict whose monastery at Monte Cassino, founded in 529 A.D., was not originally designed for missions but rather for the glory of God and the cultivation of a spiritual life. There is, however, a explosive, outreaching quality in spiritual power, and what were at first only scattered communities of introverted, withdrawn, praying monks became soon, as Bainton puts it, "the church's militia in the winning of the West". (Ibid, p. 138)

In some important ways the monasteries were well suited as agents of Christian missinn. First, they were spiritually revived and deeply committed communities in an age of secularized Christianity when too much of the Empire had been only nominally converted. Not churches, but voluntary societies Second, they were centers of learning, Biblical as well as classical, preserving the Bible and the writings of the fathers when so much of the heritage of the east was being swept away by the barbarian invaders. Third, they were self-supporting and unencumbered with families, living on the land wherever they were gathered or were sent, at a time when centralized, papal missions would have been impossible to maintain due to the collapse of the financial structures of the Empire. Finally, they had a discipline, which is an almost indispensable mark of a successful Christian mission.

Two types of monasticism spearheaded the Christian conversion of Europe. The first was Irish--enthusiastic, independent and extremely mobile. It resembles in some respects the missionary strengths of modern faith missions. The second was Benedictine--more disciplined, organized, moderate and obedient to central ecclesiastical authority, like modern denominational missions (though the comparison is, of course, over-simplified).

The great period of Irish monastic missions was the 6th and 7th centuries. The Irish (Scots, or Celts as they were then called) were the pioneer missionariesd in nearly all of Europe north of the Alps, and in all of Saxon England north of the Thames. It is important to remember that since the withdrawal of the Roman legions from the British Isles in the early fifth century (410-440), the Celtic church had grown up independent of the Roman papacy. Irish monasticism, therefore, was more free of church control, less restrained by vows and rules, and, in a curiously indigenous way, was rather closely tied to families and clans. The Irish monasteries, says one historian of monasticism, were nothing but "clans reorganized under a religious form" (Count de Montalembert, The Monks of the West from St. Benedict to St. Bernard, 7 vols., Edinburgh, 1841. iii, p. 86)

It is only natural, therefore, to find that the outstanding missionary in Irish missions was a prince, a leader in his clan, St. Columba (521-597). He is known as the "apostle to Scotland" for in 563 A.D. he set out across the stormy waters of the Irish sea in a little hide-covered wicker boat on an evangelistic mission to convert his fellow Celts, the pagan savages of Scotland. His center of mission was the famous monastery of Iona which he founded on an island off the coast. Central in his missionary preaching was the Bible. To every church planted by the Iona missionary bands he insisted that there be given a copy of the Scriptures, a difficult requirement in days when it took a scribe ten months of continuous work to make just one copy of the Bible. (W. C. Somerville, From Iona to Dunblane: The Story of the National Bible Society of Scotland to 1948, Edinburgh, NBSS, 1948, p. 8). It was from Iona, also, that northern England was successfully reached with the gospel, by Aidan about 635 A.D., after the papal missions there had almost been wiped out by Saxon invasions.

To their Biblical, evangelistic approach the wandering Irish missionaries (they were called peregrini, "wanderers" for Christ) added a fierce Irish independence. Columban (550-615), a younger namesake of Columba, set out for Europe when he was forty, set up a monastery (Luxeuil) as a missionary center like Iona, but was so bold in his denunciations of the immorality of King Theodoric of Burgundy and his concubines that he was forced out of Burgundy into Switzerland and eventually ended up in Italy where he was not afraid to tangle even with the Pope. The only authority he would accept was Scripture and the Irish right. "We Irish," he wrote to Pope Gregory, "..are the disciples of St. Peter and St. Paul and of the other disciples who have written under the dictation of the Holy Spirit. We receive nothing more than the apostolic and evangelical doctrine... With us it is not the person, it is the right which prevails." (quoted by C. H. Robinson, The Conversion of Europe, London; Longmans, Green, 1917, p. 197).

The papal mission to England at the end of the 6th century was of a different kind, but no less notable. It was ecclesiastical, not independent, and though it, too, had monastic connections, its missionary monks were not Irish but Benedictine. The story of the beginning of the mission is familiar. Pope Gregory I saw English slaves in the Roman market, and impressed by their golden hair and huge size excaimed, "Angli sunt, angeli fiant" (They are Angles, but may they become angels). And he promptly commissioned a missionary expedition to England. He himself had once wanted to be a Benedictine monk, and the man he picked to head the mission was a Benedictine, Augustine (known as Augustine of Canterbury to distinguish him from the theologian Augustine of Hippo).

The English mission, unlike earlier Irish missionary work, was under direct papal authority, and Gregory took an active part in determining its missionary policies. Three significant missiological principles are stressed in the Pope's correspondence with the mission. First, the mission is to be church-centered and church-controlled. In

June 601 Gregory wrote to Augustine, granting him the right to "ordain bishops in twelve..places, to be subject to thy jurisdiction, with a view of a bishop of the city of London..receiving the dignity..from this holy and Apostolical See, which by the grace of God I serve". (quoted in B.J. Kidd, Documents Illustrative of the History of the Church, vol. iii, p. 41).

Gregory's second principle of missionary policy was the policy of accommodation. Do not condemn everything in the pagan English culture but "baptize" as much of it as possible, he instructed his missionaries, using it as a bridge to bring the English over into the Christian faith. In another letter that same year he wrote, "The temples of idols..should not be destroyed, but the idols that are in them should be . Let holy water be prepared and sprinkled in these temples.., since, if they are well built..they should be transferred from the worship of idols to the true God." He gives much the same advice concerning pagan rites and ceremonies. Let them keep them, he writes, but "in a changed form". "Let them no longer slay animals to the devil but..to the praise of God for their own eating, and return thanks to the giver of all for their fulness... For it is undoubtedly impossible to cut away everything at once from hard hearts, since one who strives to ascend to the highest place must rise by steps or paces, and not by leaps." (Ibid, p. 42 f.)

His third principle was one we have already observed in earlier centuries. The Christian mission was to be directed toward the conversion of kings and rulers. We shall note this point in greater detail later. But whatever the merits or demerits of the third principle, Pope Gregory's letters give us, as Stephen Neill points out, "almost the first example since the days of Paul of a carefully planned and calculated mission" (Hist. of Missions, p. 67) the success of which can be measured by the fact that only this week when a new Archbishop of Canterbury was enthroned, he was hailed as the 100th successor in direct line of Augustine of Canterbury, Pope Gregory's first missionary to England.

Moreover, when in the 7th century at the Synod of Whitby the Celtic and Roman churches were brought together, the combination of Irish enthusiasm and Roman organization sent a fresh wave of Anglo-Saxon missionaries to plant their Benedictine monasteries deep in the pagan forest of the Frisians, the Saxons and the Germans and assure the completion of the conversion of Europe. The biographies of the most eminent of these pioneers (The Life of St. Willibrord by Alcuin, The Life of St. Boniface by Willibald, The Letters of St. Boniface, The Hodoeporicon of St. Willibald by Huneberc, The Life of St. Sturm by Eigil, The Life of St. Leoba by Rudolf, and the Life of St. Lebuin), all written by their 8th century contemporaries, have been translated and published in one volume be C. H. Talbot, The Anglo-Saxon Missionaries in Germany (N.Y., Sheed & Ward, 1954).

It is true that the principle of accommodation was an important part of papal missionary strategy, that this was almost always held within limits, and pagan practices, where they were considered to compromise the purity of the faith were severely condemned. The most

famous illustration of this in this period is the story of Boniface cutting down the sacred oak at Geismar. Here is the account from Willibald's Life of St. Boniface: (The date is 723 A.D.).

"Some (of the Hessians) continued secretly, others openly, to offer sacrifices to trees and springs, to inspect the entrails of victims; some practiced divination, legerdemain and incantations; some turned their attention to auguries, auspices and other sacrificial rites;... Others, of a more reasonable character, forsook all the profane practices of heathenism and committed none of these crimes. With the counsil and advice of the latter persons, Boniface in their presence attempted to cut down, at a place calbed Gaesmere, a certain oak of extraordinary size called by the pagans of olden times the Oak of Jupiter. Taking his courage in his hands (for a great crowd of pagans stood by watching and bitterly cursing in their hearts the enemy of the gods), he cut the first notch. But when he had made a superficial cut, suddenly the oak's vast bulk, shaken by a mighty blast of wind from above, crashed to the ground shivering its topmost branches into fragments in its fall. As if by the express will of God.. the oak burst asunder into four parts.. At the sight of this extraordinary spectacle the heathens who had been cursing ceased to revile and began, on the contrary, to believe and bless the Lord. Thereupon the holy bishop took counsel with the brethren, built an oratory from the timber of the oak and dedicated it to St. Peter..." (C. H. Talbot, op. cit. p. 45 f.

B. Kings and Rulers.

Perhaps the most questionable feature of the missionary strategy of this period, as also in the first five hundred years, was its emphasis on converting nations through the influence of ruling kings and princes. All too often the conversion of kings was more political than spiritual, and their influence on behalf of the Christian church was more often exerted through secular pressures than through gospel evangelism.

In Scotland, much of the Christian advance of Columba's Irish monks, despite their evangelistic zeal, was due to the fact that Columba himself was a prince, dealing with clan chiefs who were his own relatives. England was reached through princes like Oswald, King of Northumbria, and Ethelbert, King of Kent, the first Christian king among the Anglo-Saxons. (Latourette, ii, p. 69). France, the German tribes, Bulgaria, Poland, Russia and the Scandinavian countries were all Christianized through their rulers, and Christian kings, however nominal may have been their conversion often took Christian mission into their own hands.

Here is the celebrated account of how Charlemagne, King of France, set out to convert the pagan Saxons of Germany (772-802). The Life of Sturm, missionary abbot of Fulda records that "In the fourth year of King Charles's happy reign, the Saxons were a people savage and hostile to everyone, being much given to heathen rites. King Charles, ever devout and Christian, began to consider how he could win this people for Christ. He took council with the servants of God.. Then he collected a large army, called upon the name of Christ, and marched to Saxony: taking in his train all the bishops, abbots, presbyters and all the orthodox and faithful... After the king had arrived... partly by arms, partly by persuasion and partly by

gifts, he converted the greater part of the people.. entrusting (them) to the care of the blessed Sturm..." Given the methods used in this royal mission, it is not surprising to find later on in the record of a combined military and missionary operation, that "the Saxons, that depraved and perverse people, abandoned the faith.. gave themselves over to vain errors; and collecting an army," broke out in rebellion. (Vita Sturmi, cc. 22,23, in B.J. Kidd, op. cit., iii, p. 77).

Alcuin, the king's wise counselor, after a few more such unhappy missionary experiences in campaigns against the Huns, finally found the courage to give Charlemagne some advice on missionary strategy. But it is not, as we would expect today, a rebuke on the king's use of force to convert pagans. In the middle ages, that was too common and too well-accepted a practice to arouse disagreement. In essence, what Alcuin suggests is that the king is expecting too much from his new converts, and he quotes Augustine (from On Catechizing the Unlearned) who advises instruction in the faith in easy stages. Augustine had also, you remember, condoned the use of force in conversion.

This prevailing reliance in the Middle Ages on political and military means for Christian mission led straight to the greatest missionary mistake in Christian history, the Crusades. From the first call of Pope Urban II in 1096 to the kings and princes of Christendom to unite to drive the infidels from the Holy Land-- "An accursed race.. a barbarous people estranged from God has invaded the lands of the Christians.. They have torn down the churches of God.. (They) befoul the altars with the filth oft of their bodies.. torturing Christians.. bending their heads to try if their swordsman can cut through their necks with a single blow of a naked sword.. ravishing the women .." (Harold Lamb, The Crusades, N.Y. 1930. pp. 39 f.)--to the fall of Jerusalem in 1099 when the victorious crusaders poured like Christian wolves through the streets trampling on severed Moslem heads and hands and riding through human blood that swirled above the fetlocks of their horses (ibid, p. 236 f.)--from the first crusade to the last in 1271, neither the motivation nor the method of this kind of Christian mission was anything but "irreparable disaster", as Bishop Neill calls it. (Hist. of Christian Missions, p. 173).

C. New Voluntary Societies.

The end of the crusades, however, brought a new spirit into the Roman church out of which grew new missionary societies and a new positive direction to Christian missions. Compare the militant war-cry of Pope Urban which roused Europe to a holy war against Islam with the gentle protest of Raymond Lull (d. 1315), the first to give his life to mission to the Moslems. "They (i.e. the crusaders) think they can conquer by force of arms," he wrote. "It seems to me that the victory can be won in no other way than as thou, O Lord Christ, didst seek to win it, by love and prayer and self-sacrifice". (quoted in C. H. Robinson, History of Christian Missions, N.Y., Scribners, 1915, p. 19)

The new mood in missions was spear-headed by the strange but moving example of St. Francis of Assissi who became convinced, about the time of the Fifth Crusade, that the Moslems remained heathen not because they had not been conquered on the battlefield, but because the gospel had never properly been presented to them in their minds and hearts. Even before Lull, Francis made three missionary journeys to try to do this himself--to Morocco in 1212, to Spain in 1214, and to Egypt in 1219. In Egypt he managed to win his way even into the presence of the Sultan and preached before him. It matters not, really, that hiss mission failed, or that his missionary methods were almost ridiculously unsound. "Kindle a fire," he said to the Sultan, almost like Elijah before Ahab, "and let your priests and me enter it together and let God determine whether the tru faith be on my side or theirs." (Thomas Smith, Mediaeval Missions, Edinburgh 1880, p. 225). The Sultan refused, of course, and Francis returned without results. But more important than the success or failure of his mission was its landmark position, as Bishop Neill has pointed out (op. cit. p. 116), marking a "new spirit in the Christian world", and "a notable shift... in the missionary methods of the Christian Churches. For five centuries at the heart of the missionary enterprise had stood the monastery.. From now on and for two centuries the central place will be held by the two great Orders of Friars: the Franciscans and the Dominicans."

The earlier monastic orders, such as the Irish and the Benedictines, were primarily monastic and only secondarily missionary. The two new orders, Franciscans and Dominicans were first and foremost missionary organizations (Latourette, ii, p. 320 ff.). Franciscans emphasized poverty, lay witness and martyrdom. Dominicans, who called themselves the Order of Preachers, emphasized scholarship and the preaching of the clergy. Both societies developed specific organizations for the conduct of foreign missions. The Societas fratrum peregrinantium propter Christum of the Dominicans centered its work in monasteries in the Near East. The Franciscans formed a society with the same name but with wider scope and organized their missions into six territories, each under a vicar: three among the Mongols, and one each in Morocco, the northern Balkans, and what is now the Ukraine and Romania.

The Franciscans, who have sent out more missionaries than any other order except the Jesuits, later divided their Mongol territories

Dominicans

nocent had used in speaking of them. This name denotes their ideals. They were to preach, and in order to do this effectively, they were to devote themselves to study. They were to be friars, not monks; they were to live in the busy haunts of men instead of secluded in a convent; the world was to be their cloister. By preaching and by example they were to spread Christian doctrines and ideals among the people. In 1217 Dominic sent his followers out on their mission. He said: "You are still a little flock, but already I have formed in my heart the project of dispersing you abroad. You will no longer abide in the sanctuary of Prouille. The world henceforth is your home, and the work God has created for you is teaching and preaching. Go you, therefore, into the whole world and teach all nations. Preach to them the glad tidings of their redemption. Have confidence in God, for the field of your labors will one day widen to the uttermost ends of the earth." Accordingly, some went to Spain, some to Paris and some to Bologna. Their success was very rapid. At Dominic's death, four years later, the order already had sixty convents scattered through Spain, France, England, Italy, Germany and Hungary. Its influence was increased by the adoption of a vow of absolute poverty. The friars could have no property and no regular income. They could attack the problems created by the new wealth without being accused of profiting from the new wealth. Instead they supported themselves by begging and the Dominicans thus became a "mendicant" order.

The emphasis which Dominic had placed on learning made his followers especially active in university towns. Some of them became noted scholars, and they soon obtained professorships at Paris, Oxford, Montpellier, Bologna and Toulouse. The secular clergy were jealous of this success and tried to bar the Dominicans from the higher faculties, but with papal support they overrode all opposition. Eventually the Dominicans established their right to a certain number of chairs in the theological faculty at Paris, and since Paris was the leading university, this brought them recognition everywhere. Some of the most influential scholars of the thirteenth century were Dominicans—for example Thomas Aquinas, the greatest philosopher of the Church, and Vincent of Beauvais, who summed up medieval knowledge in a huge encyclopedia. Because of their learning and their early interest in heresy, the Dominicans were especially interested in the Inquisition, and its most active branches were under their control.

The other great mendicant order was founded by Francis of Assisi. He was born in Italy in 1182 and was thus some twelve years younger than Dominic. He was the son of a rich merchant of Assisi and as a youth led a joyous life. Francis was greatly interested in stories of chivalry and longed to distinguish himself as a knight. His one military adventure, however, proved disastrous and he returned home desperately ill. The collapse of his hopes turned his thoughts to religion, and he

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Appleton, Century, Crofts.

went through a long internal struggle, trying to discover what he shou
do to be saved. When he was about twenty he finally became convince
that he must renounce wealth and family ties and serve God in povert
through charity. He did not withdraw from the world but instead bega
to preach and to do good works among his neighbors.

Other men of like mind gathered about him until there were twel
in all. They then sought the pope at the Lateran Council in 1215 to hav
their undertaking confirmed. The pope hesitated at first, for there we
obvious resemblances between Francis' plan, and that of Peter Wald
Francis, however, was willing to accept suggestions from the leaders
the Church, which Waldo had never done, and the need for a new ty
of religious order was more obvious in 1215 than it had been in 117
So Francis' followers, the "Minorites" or "Friars Minor," as they call
themselves in their humility, were allowed to begin their work. Fro
the first, Francis insisted on absolute poverty. The brethren were
labor with their hands, but they were not to receive wages in mon
though they might accept gifts of food or clothing. They were to take
thought for the morrow and were to give to the poor all that was not a
solutely necessary for the day. The rule ordered:

> The brethren shall appropriate to themselves nothing, neither house,
> place, nor other thing, but shall live in the world as strangers and pilgri
> and shall go confidently after alms. In this they shall feel no shame, si
> the Lord for our sake made himself poor in the world. It is this perfectior
> poverty which has made you, dearest brethren, heirs and kings of the ki
> dom of heaven. Having this, you should wish to have nought else un
> heaven.

The success of the order was due to the spirit of Francis, which m
of his early followers imbibed. He tried to apply the precepts of Ch
literally, and to imitate His life in all things. He delighted in sacri
for the poor and especially for the lepers, who were the outcasts of
ciety. He renounced worldly pleasures without becoming bitter and
He loved all created things; he chanted the praises of the sun
preached sermons to the birds. He was always gay and at times e
playful. He named one of his followers "the plaything of Jesus Ch
and called the brethren "the Lord's clowns." [7]

"Is it not in fact true," he said, "that the servants of God are re
like clowns, intended to revive the hearts of men, and to lead ther
spiritual joy?" Francis also succeeded in spiritualizing his early ch
ric ideals. He sang the praises of "My Lady Poverty" as a troubac
would sing the praises of his mistress, and he sought spiritual advent
as a wandering knight would seek temporal combats. He was pa
and humble, yet "he possessed an original and well-balanced mind

[7] *Joculatores*, here and elsewhere translated as "clowns," is an inclusive ter
entertainers, players, acrobats, and gleemen.

into four ecclesiastical units: Kipchak, Persia, Turkestan and China. They were the first Roman Catholic missionaries to reach China. The first contact was made by John of Plano Carpini (or Pian de Carpine) who carried a letter from the Pope to the Mongol Emperor Kuyuk Khan in 1246. Another Franciscan, William of Rubruck, reaching the court of Mangu Khan in 1255 near Karakorum, actually witnessed to the Emperor who was interested in all religions but apparently remained Shamanist. Neither of these men reached China proper. That honor was reserved for a third Franciscan, John of Montecorvino, who arrived in Peking in 1294, built a church, and by 1305 reported that he had won as many as 6000 converts.

It is not surprising, however, that it was the Dominicans, with their emphasis on scholarship, who contributed most to the theology and science of missions in the 13th century. Raymond of Penaforte (d. 1275) enlisted the support of the kings of Castile and Aragon (Spain) in starting schools for the study of Arabic and Hebrew to train missionaries to Moslems and Jews. Even more important, perhaps, he persuaded the great Thomas Aquinas to write what Latourette calls "a handbook for missionaries" (ii, p. 314), the Summa contra Gentiles. This may well be the first book on missiology (missionary theology and science) ever specifically written for that purpose. In essence, Thomas concludes that a different approach will be needed to present the gospel to complete pagans, like the Moslems, than that which can be used with those who are nearer to the faith, like Jews (or heretics). Jews at least will accept the Old Testament, and most heretics acknowledge the authority of the New Testament as well as the Old Testament. Therefore the Bible is the best authoritative approach to them. But Moslems, he points out, do not recognize the authority of the Bible. By what means, then, can they be reached? The only avenue of appeal to complete pagans, says Aquina, is reason. Natural reason is the only possible approach to them, he argues, "for it (i.e. reason) demands the assent of all". (Summa contra Gentiles, 1,2)

This was the beginning of a serious Catholic attempt to develope a science of mission. It was accelerated by the discovery, in the 15th and 16th centuries, of whole new worlds of pagan peoples. The direct contact of Catholic empires with these pagan lands stimulated Catholic thinkers like Joannes Azorius (1535-1603); Antonius Posevinus (1534-1611) and others to develope more complete and systematic theologies of missions--but that belongs properly in our consideration of the next period: The Reformation and the Counter-Reformation.

Magnus Sucatus Patricius, known to us as Saint Patrick, traveled to Ireland twice. He went once because of Irish pirates. He went the second time because of God. He did not want to go either time.

His first visit came at a time of great turmoil in Europe. The Romans, who had controlled Britain for five hundred years, left in A.D. 400 to provide replacement troops in the war against the Huns. Britain was left at the mercy of Norse, Saxon and Irish pirates. These roving bands raped, looted and took slaves for sale in their homelands.

Patrick's father was a deacon of the Christian church and a Decurion, a local official of the national government. He was also a minor member of the nobility and owned a seaside villa which was particularly vulnerable to pirate raids. When Patrick was sixteen, the villa was attacked.

Screaming barbarians charged up the slope from the sea, hacking down startled defenders and casting nets over fleeing victims. Although the rest of his family escaped, Patrick and many of his father's servants were captured, bound and thrust into the bottom of a pirate boat to wallow in the bilge water as the raid continued along the coast. Patrick was on his way to Ireland for the first time.

From Slave to Saint

In Ireland, Patrick was sold as a slave to a druid tribal chieftain, who put the boy to work herding pigs. Patrick felt lost and helpless; he had gone from nobleman's heir to swineherd overnight. Slavery beat all pride and dignity out of him. He had no chance for education, no friends, no possessions, no name, no hope.

He labored in filth and squalor among the animals. Finally, deprived of every human consolation, he turned to God. In his book *Confessions*, he writes, ". . . I was sixteen and knew not the true God but in a strange land the Lord opened my unbelieving eyes, and I was converted."

The new convert spent much time in the presence of the Lord and eventually came to thank God for his captivity as an opportunity to know Christ. He became convinced that his slave state was a gift from God, so he served his barbarian master well, laboring as unto the Lord. "Anything that happens to me, whether pleasant or distasteful, I ought to accept it with equanimity giving thanks to God . . . who never disappoints."

Patrick learned to pray as he worked or walked or rested. "Love and reverence for God came to me more and more, building up my faith so much that daily I would pray a hundred times or more. Even while working in the woods or on the mountain I woke up to pray before dawn. . . . Now I understand that it was the fervent Spirit praying within me."

Because of his devotion to God, Patrick was called "Holy-Boy." He remained a slave of the barbarian for six years—then came escape.

Return to Britain

One night as he lay sleeping, Patrick heard a voice in a dream telling him, "Wake up, your ship is waiting for you." He sneaked away and struggled through two hundred miles of hostile territory to the coast where he found a boat preparing to sail.

The captain refused passage to the runaway slave, but as Patrick walked away praying, one of the crew called him back into the ship. After an arduous voyage and near starvation, he arrived home. "Again I was in Britain with my people who welcomed me as their son," he writes.

In his own mind, Patrick was through with Ireland and the Irish. At twenty-two, he had many opportunities before him: he could continue his education, catch up with his social life, assume his responsibilities as heir of a nobleman.

Little is known about this phase of his life. Patrick may have studied in France or Italy; he may have entered the priesthood at this time. He does not tell us. The next event he relates in *Confessions* is how God called him to return to Ireland.

"I did not go back to Ireland of my own accord," he writes. "It is not in my own nature to show divine mercy toward the very ones who once enslaved me." Concerning his return to Ireland as a missionary he writes, "It was the furtherest thing from me, but God made me fit, causing me to care about and labour for the salvation of others. . . . "

This change of attitude toward his mission came in part as the result of another dream. He saw a messenger named Victoricus coming across the sea from Ireland bearing letters labeled "The Voice of the Irish."

When Patrick began to read these letters he thought he heard the people in the Wood of Focluth, where he had been a slave, crying out to him, "Holy-Boy, we beg you, come walk among us again." He awoke knowing he had to go back.

More Obstacles

Patrick still faced three major obstacles: his family, the opposition of clergy friends and financing. His *Confessions* reveals how God dealt with each hindrance.

"Since I was home at last having suffered such hardship, my family pleaded with me not to leave." They were justly alarmed; [*continued on page 4*]

JOHN W. COWART, formerly a collector and classifier of mosquitos, is a writer in Jacksonville, Florida. His favorite hobby is sand sculpture.

SAINT PATRICK [*continued from page 1*]
as an escaped slave he faced horrible retribution. The druids were known to weave criminals and runaway slaves into giant wicker baskets and suspend them over a fire to roast alive.

Patrick often lovingly mentions his family and refers to the pain of leaving them. "Leaving my home and family was a costly price to pay; but afterwards, I received a more valuable thing: the gift of knowing and loving God.

"Many friends tried to stop my mission. They said, 'Why does this fellow waste himself among dangerous enemies who don't even know God?' " These churchmen considered the Irish to be barbaric enemies not worth saving.

But Patrick believed his enemies were worth saving. He could later say, "Once the Irish worshipped idols and unclean things, having no knowledge of the True God, but now they are among God's own people. Even the children of their kings are numbered among the monks and virgins of Christ!"

Patrick insisted on paying his own way. "The reason I acted thus was to demonstrate prudence in everything . . . I did not want to give the unbelievers even the smallest thing to criticize."

But if he refused to accept financial help, how could he finance his endeavor? "I was born free, the son of a Decurion; but I sold my title of nobility—there is no shame nor regret in this—in order to become the slave of Christ serving this barbaric nation."

Back to Ireland

Patrick used his inheritance money to purchase a boat and finance his mission. He and his party sailed back to Ireland in A.D. 432. Landing at the port of Inver Dea, they were welcomed by a rock-throwing mob.

They sailed along the coast of Ireland, landing and preaching along the way. Patrick preached at isolated farms, to hostile crowds on the beaches, to women and children drawing water at country wells.

At one farm, tradition tells us, Patrick came upon an old man who was dying. Patrick sought to comfort him and lead him to salvation in Christ. The invalid argued for his old way of life. Finally Patrick asked him, "Why are you grasping at a life which is even now failing you? Why do you neglect to prepare for the life to come?"

The old man pondered the questions. Then he repented, believed and was baptized. He eventually recovered from his illness and became one of Patrick's staunchest followers. As Christianity became more established Patrick assigned this man, Ros, the task of codifying Ireland's laws, bringing them into conformity with Christian belief and morality.

Patrick's attempts at evangelism were not always so successful. He returned to confront his former owner, Miliuce, with the claims of Christ. Rather than forsake his heathen gods, Miliuce sealed himself inside his house and set it afire. The druid drowned out Patrick's pleadings with screamed curses and invocations to his gods, while cremating himself and all his possessions.

Patrick traveled over the Irish countryside in a chariot, spreading the gospel and bringing with it social reform and a written alphabet. He conducted open-air schools to teach his converts to read and write.

Until this time, writing was the jealously guarded secret of druid wizards. But Patrick believed in educating his converts to read the Scriptures. A clash with the druids was inevitable.

Easter Crisis

The religion of the druids was firmly entrenched in Ireland. They worshiped and tried to appease manifold spirits in the guise of stones, trees, storms and the sun. They constructed megalithic monuments to aid in their style of astrology.

Druid sorcerers claimed to be able to control weather, so it was important for them to be aware of celestial changes. One of their most important rites occurred at the vernal equinox when the sun begins its return to warm the northern hemisphere. In A.D. 433 the vernal equinox fell on March 26th—Easter Sunday. Patrick chose that day to challenge the wizards.

All the warlords of Ireland had met on a hill to seek the blessing of the druids.

In order to call the sun back to the north, the druid custom was to extinguish all fires in the kingdom. The chief wizard then ignited a bonfire as part of the ritual. Runners bearing flaming brands raced through the fields carrying new fire to the hearths of the nation. Thus the druids showed that it was their enchantments which brought back the sun.

On the night of the ceremony, as the warlords and wizards worshiped in the darkness of the great stone circle, they saw a huge bonfire burning on the opposite hill. Patrick had lit a blazing fire this Easter to commemorate Christ, the light of the world.

The druids were outraged. They dispatched troops to bring Patrick to the council and demanded an explanation for his blasphemy. Patrick spoke to them about the Trinity, the mystery of the Incarnation and the triumph of Christ's resurrection. Some believed; others attempted to kill him.

Legend colors this encounter with fantastic miracles. No matter what actually happened that night, Patrick became a national figure and his controversial message was discussed everywhere.

Patrick believed that he was living in the last days before Christ's return and that the Lord deserved to be worshiped by men from every nation, even the barbaric Irish. So he felt responsible "to preach the Gospel to the edge of the earth beyond which no man lives." He says that Christ called his people to be fishers of men, "therefore we must spread a wide net so we can catch a teeming multitude for God."

He mentions one motive, though, which outweighs all the others—he was grateful.

Sheer Gratefulness

Patrick's sense of gratitude to God for creating and saving him permeates his writings. "I was an illiterate slave, as ignorant as one who neglects to provide for his future. And I am certain of this: that although I was as a dumb stone lying squashed in the mud, the Mighty and Merciful God came, dug me out and set me on top of the wall. Therefore I praise Him and ought to render Him something for His wonderful benefits to me both now and in eternity."

This gratitude and burning love for Christ drove Patrick to challenge heathenism wherever he found it. He entered the stockades of the warlords, preaching to hostile warriors dressed in strips of fur or naked with their bodies painted with blue clay and scarred with whorling tattoos.

He visited the waddle huts of slaves bearing comfort and hope. He even preached at the racetracks, converting men in the midst of gambling, drinking and orgies. Thousands of Irishmen were converted through his relentless evangelism motivated by loving gratitude.

The Whole Gospel

He not only preached but ministered to the whole person, bringing a gospel which raised the standard of life for the Irish. He paid judges' salaries out of his own pocket so they could judge impartially rather than depending on a reward from the person who won a suit. Monasteries were founded which survived as centers of learning till the age of the Vikings.

Having been a slave himself, he was concerned with the plight of slaves. "The women who live in slavery suffer greatly," he wrote. "They endure terror and are constantly threatened. Their masters forbid these maidens to follow Christ but He gives them grace to follow bravely."

In one of the coastal towns, Patrick baptized a large group of converts. Shortly after the ceremony the town was raided by soldiers of King Coroticus, a nominal Christian king from Britain.

The raiders slaughtered the men and children. The good-looking young women—still dressed in white baptismal gowns—were captured to sell to a brothel in Scotland.

Patrick was furious. He fired off a scorching protest to the people of Coroticus, excommunicating the perpetrators of this "horrible, unspeakable crime" and demanding restoration of the captives. "The Church mourns in anguish not over the slain but over those carried off to a far away land for the purpose of gross, open sin. Think of it! Christians made slaves by Christians! Sold to serve the lusts of wicked pagan Picts!"

Because of his stands for righteousness, Patrick suffered insult and persecution. The druids often tried to poison him. Once a barbarian warrior speared his chariot driver to death thinking he was killing Patrick.

Patrick was often ambushed during his evangelistic tours and at least once he was enslaved for a short time. He sometimes had to purchase safe passage through a hostile warlord's territory in order to continue his mission. "Every day I expect to be murdered or robbed or enslaved; but I'm not afraid of these things because of the promises of Heaven."

Brotherly Betrayal

Patrick faced opposition not only from nominal Christians, pagan warlords and druid wizards, but from his church as well. Ecclesiastical authorities in Britain questioned his fitness to be a bishop and held a hearing at which he was not present and at which his dearest friend spoke against him. It is possible that for a time he was suspended or placed on probation.

Although Patrick was restored to his bishopric, the most important result of this crisis was that it prompted him to write his *Confessions*. This document, his hymn and his *Letter to the People of Coroticus* comprise the only surviving record of his life and thought.

By the end of his thirty-year ministry in Ireland, Patrick had seen 100,000 souls converted and had established numerous churches. He had removed learning from the clutches of druid wizards and made it available for all. He influenced the eventual elimination of slavery and helped change the status of women from possessions to persons. His dignity, honesty and piety changed a whole nation.

Near the conclusion of his *Confessions* he writes, "The only reason I had to return to the people I once barely escaped from was the Gospel and its promises."

Patrick preached this gospel to "the edge of the world." His message to us? "I wish that you also would exert greater effort and begin more powerful acts for God." ■

John T. McNeill

ticus in the hope that they will bring pressure to bear on their king and that the women captured in the raid may be released. The document vividly reveals the deep emotional involvement and commitment that gave strength and quality to Patrick's mission to the Irish.

Patrick's religious testimony is extremely personal, and it is a warm piety rather than an emphasis on formalized belief that pervades his writings. In one section, however, he so summarizes his doctrines as to show that he taught the essentials of Nicene trinitarianism (Conf. 4). But since the important Nicene phrase "of one substance with the Father" is not used, he was evidently under the influence of writers of earlier date than Nicea. The intense reality of his faith is conveyed through abundant use of biblical phrases. He has invited comparison with St. Paul, and with John Bunyan. Like Paul he is obedient to heavenly visions and voices, and such experiences he seems to have felt to be normal. At the end of a vision, after words not understood have been spoken, he hears the divine commendation: "He who laid down his life for thee, he it is who speaks in thee" (Conf. 24). There is no arrogance here, but an amazed gratitude for the bestowal of a potent grace that makes his work effective: "I was not worthy . . . that He should bestow upon me such great grace toward this nation" (Conf. 15).

It would be unprofitable here to attempt an account of the extent and limits of his missionary tours in Ireland. The seventh- and eighth-century documents that try to trace his steps are tendentious and unreliable. As bishop of the Irish, Patrick shows no awareness that other bishops shared his work. If he consecrated other bishops, or, as seems probable, was associated with others who came from Britain or Gaul, he has no occasion for mentioning this. In the Annals of Ulster it is stated that in 439 three British bishops—Secundus, Auxilius, and Iserninus—were sent to join him. Muirchú largely confines Patrick's labors to Ulster, while Tírechán has him visit numerous places and meet tribal kings in Meath and Connaught. Muirchú says that Patrick loved Armagh above all other places, and there is some probability that he founded a church in Armagh. Annalists give for this the dates 441 and 444; but Patrick has no mention of Armagh. His place of burial was not Armagh but, according to Tírechán, Saul in County Down. Three centuries after his time, the image of Patrick conveyed by his own writings was hardly recognizable in the growing

 (Chicago, Chicago U. 1974).

legend. He had become a magician confounding the assembled druids at Tara, and at the same time a powerful ecclesiastic. In the *Tripartite Life* he is represented as exercising from Armagh the authority of a primate, consecrating hundreds of bishops, and his missionary itinerary over most of Ireland is plotted in detail. No doubt the expanding legend is motivated by the desire to magnify Armagh, as against a monastic "parochia," the connection of houses associated with the name of Columba. But any geographical restriction of his ministry to northeast Ireland seems to come under question from Patrick's own habitual reference to "Ireland" as his province and "the Irish" as his beloved people, as well as his incidental claim that grace was given him to ordain clergy everywhere (Conf. 28).

With many questions still unanswered, scholars have nevertheless led us back from the unsafe world of legend and tradition to the sure ground of Patrick's writings. The miracle-worker of the hagiographers, who Christianizes Ireland by a series of dramatic demonstrations before princes, gives place to the warm-hearted, alert, zealous, diligent, and courageous biblical preacher, and the faithful bishop intensely conscious of his unique mission and pastoral responsibility. In this role Patrick was indeed the Apostle of Ireland.

Holt Adoption Program, Inc.

IPO Box 2536 Seoul, Korea

Phones: 73-3682, 73-9895

Harry Holt, Founder

"The Children whom the Lord hath given"---Isa. 8:18

A.D. 400-800 A.D.

C. Mission and Revival

While the Christian west (Rome) was falling to the barbarians (but converting them), and the Christian east (Constantinople) was standing against them (but splitting apart into religious factions), beyond the borders of the Roman Empire, both farther east and farther west to revive the church and spread the faith. The centers of new Christian mission in this time of general Christian decline were Celtic monasticism in the west, the Roman papacy in the center and Nestorian missions to the far east.

1. Celtic missions: Two important points should be noted about the Celtic church and its missions. First, its independence from Rome. Its center was Ireland, and Britain, outside the Roman Empire, though its roots go back to Roman Britain, and to Patrick "the apostle to Ireland". Second, its authority and vitality developed around monasticism and missionary abbots rather than diocesan bishops. Its pattern, therefore, was sodality (voluntary societies), not modality (unlimited, inclusive societies). [Modalities stress the unity of the whole group e.g. the church; sodalities express the need for wholesome diversity within the unity, and for voluntary initiative. See R. Winter/Beaver, The Ways of the Wind, esp. p. 53 ff.]

Patrick (c. 389-461), a Briton, was taken as slave and held for six yrs in Ireland before escaping to return home and entering a monastery. A vision compelled him, reluctantly, to go back to Ireland as a missionary (431 AD), where he challenged the druid wizards, preached to the nobles, organized the church in bishoprics, but began to make the monasteries the real centers of learning and missions.

Columba (521-597) "the apostle to Scotland" was the great pioneer of Irish monastic missions. Though of royal blood (great grandson of the High King of Ireland, who ruled when Patrick was killed, and cousin of three Irish kings), he entered a monastery to study and became a priest. He began to found other monasteries (incl. the famous Kells), but in 563, after a dispute with his relatives and kings, he set out with 12 disciples in an open boat for Scotland. He landed at little Iona (3m x 1½ mile) where he founded a monastery and mission center for the evangelism of Scotland. In 574 his cousin King Aidan became Kg. of the Scots and Columba consecrated him on the Druid Black Stone of Iona (traditionally the Stone of Scone).

Lecture III. From the Reformation to the Modern Missionary Movement.

As we saw last week, although Christ so clearly called his disciples to world mission in the Great Commission, the church in the next 1500 years, although it did in some measure answer the call, failed to develop any systematic theology of mission, or comprehensive strategy to evangelize the world. From St. Paul to Calvin, the outreach of the church to the unsaved was at best spontaneous, and at worst only an incidental and sporadic activity on the periphery of the church's main concerns.

In the 16th century, however, the picture began to change, and one segment of the church, at least, the Roman Catholic church began to reach out not only with zeal, but organized strategy to the whole world. The new impetus to mission was undoubtedly triggered by the ~~sudden discovery of whole~~ dawn of the age of discovery which opened up ~~to~~ whole new worlds of nations long lost ~~beyond~~ ~~to outside~~ the bounds of Christendom. ~~and excited the imagination of kings dreaming of conquest, and merchants~~

Catholic missionary activity and strategy in this period

Catholic missionary activity and strategy in this period took three forms: ① Missions by voluntary orders ② Missions by ~~Christian~~ Catholic governments ③ Missions by the central church organization.

① ~~The voluntary orders.~~

① Missions by Catholic governments.

The age of discovery made Spain and tiny Portugal the great new powers of Christendom. ~~Prince~~ It also made them radiating centers of Catholic mission. ~~Henry the Navigator, King of Portugal~~ It is often forgotten ~~that~~ in this scientific age that when Prince Henry the Navigator (1394-1460), later King of Portugal, sent out ~~the~~ first of his almost annual fleets of exploration in 1418 to find India and open up the sea lanes and the dark continent, Africa, ~~it is often forgotten~~ his dominating motive was not scientific and humanist, but religious. He was the Grand Master of the Order of Christ, a crusading order, which he turned from military conquest toward ~~the~~ commercial and religious ~~outreach, pursuit~~ contact with the heathen. When a brisk trade in African slaves began to build up, he proved that the religious factor counted more with him than the commercial, and he promptly put an end to the practice of slave-raiding. (W. L. Langer, An Encyclopaedia of World Hist., Boston 1940 p 363).

Popes were only too glad to turn over to the Catholic princes of these two great maritime powers the ~~miss~~ obligation of the church ~~for~~ foreign missions. ~~Rome~~ The papacy had no organization for missions, and was some too ~~much absorbed~~ completely absorbed in countering the enormous threat of the Reformation at home to think about primitive tribes or heathen civilizations on the suddenly discovered other side of the world. The arrangement is technically called *padroado* (or "royal patronage"); It was a

2,200
1,670
970
300
50
6,690

grant of privileges (including the right to colonize and authority over colonial bishops) and of responsibilities which included, importantly, the duty of christianizing the newly discovered territories. In 1455 Pope Nicholas V granted padroado to the Portuguese, principally for Africa, and in 1493/4 Pope Alexander VI granted the same "royal privilege" to Spain, principally for the Americas. But in one of the most famous accidents of history, the line drawn by the pope between the Portuguese and Spanish spheres almost unwittingly gave Brazil, which juts farther east than men realized, to Portugal, and blocked off the Spanish from the true route to India. (The Cambridge Medieval Hist., Cambridge, 1955, p. 125) So the Kings of Portugal became the chief agents of mission to Africa, India, and the Coasts of Asia; while the Kings of Spain held similar responsibilities for the New World of the Americas. As the papal bull read, "We demand that you impose the people of these countries and islands to accept duty, and may no dangers or pains ever deter you." Their missionary duties included the responsibility of sending and appointing missionaries; of organizing and dividing episcopal dioceses and nominating bishops in their territories. (A. Freitag, The 20th Century Atlas of the Xn World, N.Y. 1963. p. 62)

Just how seriously they took these responsibilities may be inferred from the fact that from the voyages of Columbus, begin in 1492 to the death of Philip II a little over a hundred years later, in 1598, Spain had sent to the Americas over 4,690 Catholic missionaries. (ibid p. 75). Christopher Columbus was not one of them, not a missionary, but he recognized that the spread of the gospel was as much his responsibility as the call of discovery, and he often signed himself, not Christopher, but ~~the Latin words~~ Xpo Ferens (the Bearer of Christ). (ibid, p. 75)

But padroado, or royal patronage, as a strategy of mission, had its drawbacks. Missions were state-directed, not church-directed, and the colonial authorities had ~~[illegible]~~ power, if not direct, jurisdiction over not only its own supported preachers, but those of the voluntary orders as well. It also virtually restricted the missionary force to Portuguese and Spanish subjects, and "in the long run," says the Catholic missions historian, Freitag, "was to blame for the great lack of forces." (Ibid. p. 73). And finally, it forever gave to the missionary movement the stigma of colonialism from which it has never been quite able to escape.

(2) Missions by Voluntary Societies

Fortunately, Catholic mission strategy was never limited to the concept of padroado. As we have already seen, in the 13th century, voluntary societies for service, evangelism and mission had sprung up in the church, the religious orders of the Franciscans and the Dominicans, and had reached as far as China, overland, with the gospel.

But in the 16th century, out of the ferment of the counter-reformation, and through the instrumentality of a new Catholic voluntary society, there occurred what was probably the greatest explosion of missionary zeal and activity in the history of the Roman Catholic church. The new order was the Society of Jesus, founded by Ignatius Loyola in 1534, the year of John Calvin's conversion. ~~But~~ What Calvin was to do for the Reformation, Loyola did for the counter-reformation: he added to conversion, vision, and to vision discipline, and to discipline an organization and a strategy for

Christian conquest. But whereas Calvin and the Reformers ~~limited their vision~~ scarcely carried their vision of Christian mission beyond the narrow confines of Christian Europe; Loyola and ~~the~~ his Jesuits took it to the ends of the earth.

Loyola was converted at age 26 from a life of military profligacy. A judge once described the young ~~knight~~ long-haired knight in a court reprimand as "cunning, violent and vindictive." (René Fülöp-Miller, The Jesuits: A Hist. of the Society of Jesus. N.Y. 1963, p. 35). He was no intellectual. One of his pupils said that "few great men had so few ideas" as Loyola. But he added, significantly, "Still fewer had been more thoroughly earnest in the realization of these ideas" (Ibid, p. 28). The central idea in Loyola's vision of mission was obedience. ~~All~~ His famous Book of the "Spiritual Exercises" begins with the definition of the purpose of man as "conforming to the will of God"; his ~~great~~ only choice is the choice between Satan and Christ, and ~~when~~ if Christ is chosen, then the Christian must join Him in battle against Satan for the Kingdom "to conquer the land of the infidel for the true faith." The imagery is vivid, against Satan and his evil spirits spreading out throughout the world, Christ, the Supreme and True Captain, .. chooses His apostles and disciples, and sends them out into the whole world, so that they may spread the sacred doctrine among all mankind" (Ibid, pp. 11f.) The obedience demanded of the Jesuits is a missionary obedience.

The Society of Jesus began with 7 members – five Spaniards, a Frenchman, and a Portuguese. Its mission began with a pledge to win Jerusalem back for Christ, not by force of arms, however, but by the conversion of the Moslems. (p. 65f.) ~~In 1523~~ Loyola had already been to ~~set out for~~ Jerusalem, soon after his conversion, ~~himself~~, and they quickly learned two important lessons: The first was that vision ~~does not guarantee success~~ is no substitute for strategy in mission. The Moslems were not ready to be converted. ~~And~~ Obedience to Christ's command to win the nations, therefore demanded a change in strategy. ~~He turned~~

The second lesson was ~~that she~~ one that not all Protestants are so willing to accept, namely, that obedience to Christ the ~~King~~ Head is directed through obedience to the Church, the Body of Christ, as headed on earth by the Pope. In the first instance, it was ecclesiastical obedience, not missionary strategy that led him to leave Jerusalem to the Moslems and turn his attention to the rest of the world. He wanted desperately to stay and die if need be to win the Moslems, but yielded at once when an ecclesiastical superior, afraid of friction between Xns and Moslems, ordered him out in the name of the Pope. Nevertheless, this earliest determination of his to win unbelievers into the Kingdom was the ~~germ of~~ key to the missionary zeal of the Order, and his vow of utter obedience to a Pope who really didn't know what to do with them, eventually took them to the ends of the earth. "Within a hundred years," says Neill, in his Hist. of Xn Missions, "Jesuits were to lay their bones in almost every country of the known world and on the shores of almost every sea". (p. 148).

The Jesuits added to the usual three monastic vows — celibacy, poverty and obedience — an important missionary ~~vow~~ clause, as part of the vow of obedience. Every Jesuit was obligated by his vow to go to any part of the world and to accept any task in absolute obedience to ~~his superiors~~ the Pope (J. Brodrick, Saint Francis Xavier (1506-1552). London: Burns Oates, 1952. p. 71) (~~Cabrera p. 66~~). The concept of obedience was at the heart of the Jesuit theology ~~of m~~ and strategy of mission. Francis Xavier (1506-1552) the first and greatest of all the Jesuit missionaries was suddenly told one day he must take the place of a sick brother who had been chosen to go to India. ~~the next day~~ All he said was "Good, I'll go," and the next day he was off to Asia. ~~In the ne~~ (F.A. Plattner, Jesuits Go East: A Record of Missionary Activity in the East (1541-1786) Dublin: Clonmore & Reynolds, 1950. p. 17). Ibid p. 77 f). In the old sailing ships of his day, it took him a year and 29 days to reach India (Brodrick p. 97).

In the next ten years before he died Xavier planted the cross, it has been said "in fifty-two different kingdoms, preached the faith nine thousand miles of territory, and baptized over one-million persons" (Quoted by R.H. Glover, The Progress of World-Wide Missions, N.Y. Harpers 1952. p. 72) His missionary methods may be criticized, but not his incredible devotion to Christ, his missionary zeal & unflagging courage and persistence.

Criticism of his methods must include his failure to learn any of the languages of the countries in which he preached, his mass baptisms without conversions, his ~~use of superstitious~~ request to the King of Portugal that the Inquisition be introduced in the colonies in India, & his perennial use of superstitious medieval practices. But on the credit side are his scalding rebukes of the immorality of ~~Catholic~~ Christian nominally Catholic Europeans in the colonies, his outgoing love & compassion for the outcastes in Indian society, & of his almost instant appreciation & respect for the high cultural level of Far Eastern Asiatic civilization in Japan.

Acceptance & use of all that was best in national, pagan cultures, rather than outright condemnation of all non-Christian cultures as heathen, became ~~one of the~~ a central characteristic of the Jesuit science of missions. It was ~~always~~ never separated from the equally crucial ~~theological~~ point in Jesuit missionary theology that the unsaved are wholly and terribly lost. ~~in utter loss~~ This ~~was~~ is one of the major ~~themes~~ of Loyola's Spiritual Exercises (R.F. Miller, The Jesuits. p. 7 ff.)

But such theological conviction did not prevent Jesuits from a high estimate, first of Japanese, then of Chinese civilization in particular. Xavier, after only two months in Japan, wrote back to Portuguese colonizers in Goa who had developed an arrogant sense of superiority over all Asians, about the Japanese, "They are the best race yet discovered,.. Admirable in their social relationships, they have an astonishing sense of honour and.. In general, they are not a wealthy people, but neither among nobles nor plebeians is poverty regarded as a disgrace... The Japanese are full of courtesy.. Swearing a little heard.. A good proportion of the people can read or write.. They are monogamists, and they abominate theivery.. of all the people I have seen in my life, including Christians, the Japanese are the most supremely opposed to theft. They take pleasure in hearing of the things of God.. and they have no idols made in the shape of beasts. They like to be appealed to on rational grounds, and are ready to agree that what reason vindicates is right." (Broderick, op. cit. p. 362, letter dated Nov. 5, 1549).

Alessandro Valignano who followed Xavier to Asia in 1574 as the great organizing genius of Jesuit missionaries ~~became~~ developed the principle of conformity and accommodation to local cultures. In Japan, for example, he insisted that the Jesuits live in Japanese-style houses, and build their churches in Japanese architectural patterns; and strictly observe national rules of etiquette and behaviour. He also taught the Jesuits to study thoroughly the political life and structure of the countries in which they laboured, and to set as their objective the conversion of the centers of political power, thereby opening the way to the conversion of the masses. (Broderick, p. 366 f.)

It was in China, in the 17th century, that the Catholic Jesuits under the brilliant pioneer Matthew Ricci, developed ~~most~~ a consistent, coherent strategy of mission - a Jesuit missiology - for the conversion of Asia. Ricci entered China in 1583. He was not the first of his order to in China, but he was the first to enter and stay. The first Catholic missions in China proper, (as distinct from Mongolia) had been by the Franciscan, John of Monte Corvino, at Peking in 1294, but the Franciscan missions of the Catholic church in China were wiped out with the fall of the Mongol Yuan dynasty in 1368. For the next nearly two hundred years under the Ming dynasty, there was no Roman Catholic mission in China. Then came the Jesuits.

Jesuit missionary policy in China can be summarized briefly under four points.

(1). Linguistic preparation. When Alessandro Valignano was appointed Superintendent (Official Visitor) of the India Mission, which then included the entire Far East including China & Japan, he demanded ~~prep~~ intensive preparation, ~~train~~ in the Chinese language in the Jesuit college at Macao. This included mastery of local dialects as well as the mandarin of the intellectual class.

(2) Indirect cultural approach, rather than evangelistic assault. Valignano's comprehensive plan for the Christianization of the Far East was almost military in its strategy and discipline, but recognizing the immensity & difficulty of the objective, it was ~~more~~ organized

rather
for a long-term. scope than for direct frontal assault by direct evangelism. The Jesuits made no secret of their faith but did not openly emphasize their missionary purpose. They showed great interest, rather, in Chinese culture, and ~~made them~~ when asked why they had come would often reply that the fame of Chinese civilization had reached their own countries and that they had desired to see for themselves the wisdom and high moral development of the Chinese. At the same time they made
Sure ~~they mastered~~ their own mastering of areas in which the West was superior to that of China, the science of clocks of the West, particularly the natural sciences ~~to which China~~ about which Chinese intellectuals were insatiably
(Fulop Miller - p. 236 f.) Swiss curious. The watch of ~~German astronomy~~ Italian geography and German astronomy were ~~in some ways~~ more widely used missionary tools of the Jesuits than the Bible. But ~~they~~ also made effective use of Christian literature in the (3) form of beautifully written theological tracts, usually presented in the form of philosophical discussions.

(3) Sociological and political pragmatism. The Jesuits were pragmatists, not doctrinaire idealists in matters of mission policy. When they ~~Ricci discovered that the Buddhist clergy~~ entered China, wishing to gain recognition as men of piety and religion, they dressed like Buddhist priests, not Catholic clergy. But ~~Ricci soon~~ When Ricci discovered in 1589 that the Buddhists were not greatly respected, and were considered illiterate and lazy. So he promptly altered the missionary dress to that of a more prestigious class, the Confucian scholars. The same principle of pragmatism led the Jesuits to direct their efforts ~~It was not until after his death, however, that~~ Ricci's toward the upper, ruling classes, rather than the masses, in the hope that thereby they could

open up China officially to Christian evangelism. Ricci labored incessantly to commend himself & his colleagues to the court of the Ming Emperor, who then admired knowledge of Western science, but after the fall of the Ming, his successors, Adam Schall & Verbiest gained the favor of the new Manchu (Ching) emperors. The policy won its greatest victory when, in 1692, the Emperor Kang Hsi granted an edict of toleration, and for the first time since the Yuan dynasty, the Christian faith was officially legal in China.

But the same principles of accomodation & pragmatic adaptation to circumstances were soon to bring the Jesuits into a controversy which divided Roman Catholic missions in China, crippled the church, alienated the Imperial Court, & finally led to the abolition of the Jesuit Mission itself. It is called the Rites controversy.

IV. Reformation and Counter-Reformation

As we have already seen, in the first fifteen hundred years of its existence, the Christian church, although it did to some measure answer the call of Christ's Great Commission to preach the gospel to all the world, nevertheless failed to develop any systematic theology of mission or comprehensive strategy to evangelize the world. From Jerusalem to Geneva, the outreach of the church to untouched nations and cultures was at best spontaneous, and at worst only an incidental and sporadic activity on the periphery of the church's main concerns.

In the 16th century, however, the picture began to change, and one segment of the church at least--the Roman Catholic communion--began to reach out not only with zeal but with an organized strategy to the whole world. The new impetus to mission was undoubtedly triggered by the dawn of the age of discovery which opened up whole new worlds of nations long lost beyond the bounds of Christendom.

A. Roman Catholic Missions.

Catholic missionary activity and strategy in this period took three forms: first, missions by Catholic governments; second, missions by voluntary societies or orders; and third, missions by the central church organization in Rome.

1. Missions by Catholic governments. The age of discovery was Spain and tiny Portugal the great new powers of Christendom. It also made them radiating centers of Catholic missions, for when Prince Henry the Navigator (1394-1460), later King of Portugal, sent out the first of his almost annual fleets of exploration, in 1418, to find India and open up the sea lanes around the dark continent, Africa, his dominating motive was not scientific or commercial, but religious. He was the Grand Master of the Order of Christ, a crusading order, which he turned from military conquest toward commercial and religious contact with the heathen. When a lucrative trade in African slaves began to build up, he proved that the religious factor counted more with him than the commercial, and he promptly put an end to the practice of slave-raiding. (W. L. Langer, An Encyclopaedia of World History, Boston, 1940, p. 363)

Popes were only too glad to turn over to the Catholic princes of these two great maritime powers the obligation of the church for foreign missions. The papacy had no organization for missions, and was soon too completely absorbed in countering the enormous threat of the Reformation at home to think about primitive tribes or heathen civilizations on the suddenly discovered other side of the world. The technical term for the transfer of missionary rights and obligations from the church to the government is padroado,

2. Missions by Voluntary Societies. Fortunately, Roman Catholic mission strategy was never limited to the colonialist concept of padroado. Already in the 13th century, as we have seen, voluntary societies for service, evangelism and missions had sprung up in the church unconnected with government powers. The religious orders of the Franciscans and the Dominicans had carried the gospel as far as China.

In the 16th century, a new society emerged out of the ferment of the counter-reformation, and through this new missionary agency, the Society of Jesus, there occurred what was probably the greatest explosion of missionary zeal and activity in the history of the Roman Catholic church. The Society was founded by Ignatius Loyola in 1534, the same year that saw the conversion of John Calvin. What Calvin was to do for the Reformation, Loyola did for the counter-reformation: he added to conversion vision; and to vision, discipline; and to discipline, an organization and a strategy for Christian conquest. But whereas Calvin and the Reformers rarely carried their vision of Christian missions ~~katw~~ beyond the narrow confines of Catholic Europe, Loyola and his Jesuits took it to the ends of the earth.

Loyola was converted at age 26 from a life of military profligacy. A judge once described the young, long-haired knight in a court reprimand as "cunning, violent and vindictive". (Rene Fülöp-Miller, The Jesuits: A History of the Society of Jesus, N.Y. 1930, p. 35) He was no intellectual. One of his pupils said that "few great men had so few ideas", but he added significantly, "still fewer had been more thoroughly earnest in the realization of these ideas." (Ibid, p. 23) The central idea in Loyola's vision of mission was obedience. His famous Book of the Spiritual Exercises begins with the definition of the purpose of man as "conforming to the will of God". Man has only one basic choice, a choice between Satan and Christ. If he chooses Christ, then he must join Him in battle against Satan for the Kingdom. Against Satan and his evil spirits who spread out across the world, Christ "the Supreme and True Captain ... chooses His apostles and disciples and sends them out into the whole world, so that they may spread the sacred doctrine among all mankind." (Ibid, p. 11). So the obedience demanded of the Jesuit is a missionary obedience.

The Society of Jesus began with seven members--five [illegible], a Frenchman and a Portuguese. They first aimed to [illegible] from Islam for Christ, not by force of [illegible], [illegible], but by the conversion of the Moslems to Christ. When this proved impossible, they turned to the Pope to send them wherever [illegible] people', and "within a hundred years," writes Stephen Neill (Hist. of Missions, p. 148), "Jesuits were to lay their bones in almost every country of the known world and on the shores of almost every sea.."

Jesuits added to the usual three monastic vows (celibacy, poverty and obedience) an extra missionary clause as part of the vow of obedience. Every Jesuit vowed to go to any part of the world and

But it all began with the conversion of the young Spanish knight, Ignatius Loyola who first dreamed of conquering the world for Spain, not for Christ. He was born at the beginning of the Spanish age of discovery, in the days of Ferdinand and Isabella – probably just one year before Columbus discovered America. But his dreams of military glory faded when his leg was shattered by a cannon ball at the siege of Pamplona, when he was 30. (or 26?). He went through tortures as he insisted that the surgeons save the leg. The bones were set so badly, the leg had to be broken again. But the resetting was just as clumsy. "A stump of bone," says Fulop-Miller "protruded from the leg." (p.37). It could not be removed except by sawing the end of the broken bone off – and the pain itself could kill him. But he insisted – no anaesthetic, of course in Three days. His leg healed, but was too short. He insisted if he stretched on a rack for weeks. All this because in his vanity, he could not bear deformity. And all in vain. His leg was still short, and he limped for the rest of his life.

But as he slowly and painfully recovered, he began to read. He came across a collection of rather exaggerated lives of the Saints (Flos Sanctorum). He read how St. Francis went unafraid into the camp of the cruel sultan; and how St. Dominic had the gift of strange miracles, such as levitation. Suddenly his goal in life changed. He decided to be another St. Francis, or another St. Dominic. (F-M. p. 43) With Ignatius – to think was to do. First he decided, he needed to change his life – and ~~thought that~~

had his servant seat him in a chair by the window where he could look up at the sky & heaven and ~~kept his eyes out~~ meditate night after night on how he could change himself and find his new Master. Then one night, he rose from his bed, knelt before a picture of the Virgin and promised God he would follow Him forever under the banner of Christ. (p. 41).

He inquired it, at first, as a crusade. He rode out of his family's castle on a mule, to make a visit like a knight at ~~Our Lady of Montserrat~~ a mountain church; then solemnly changing clothes with a beggar - he began his spiritual training in a damp cave in the hills. He spent 7 hours a day on his knees praying; he slept on the damp ground; he ate only black bread & herbs, sprinkling them with ashes to destroy any trace of taste. He begged. He never washed. He scourged himself daily, and wore next to his skin an undergarment studded with small iron Thorns to tear his flesh. And there - weak in body, his mind weak with fasting, at last he had his "visions."

What did it all mean?

① Was it penance for past sins? That would be Biblical - but ~~that~~ was not primarily the reason for this radical mortification of his body. He said himself, later, "that in his penances he did not think particularly of his sins." (Ibid, p. 43, citing Gonzalez

or royal patronage. It was a papal grant which included both privileges and responsibilities. The privileges embraced the right to colonize non-Christian areas and to appoint and exercise authority over colonial bishops. The major responsibility was the duty of christianizing the newly discovered territories. In

In 1455 Pope Nicholas V granted padroado to the Portuguese, principally for Africa. In 1493/4 Pope Alexander VI granted the same "royal privilege" to Spain, principally for the Americas. But in one of the most famous accidents of history, the line drawn by the pope between the Portuguese and Spanish spheres of influence, which he thought ran through the ocean, turned out to pass right through Brazil, which jutted farther east than anyone realized, and so gave Brazil to Portugal and blocked off the Spanish from the true route to India. (Cambridge Mediaeval History, Cambridge, 1959, vol. 8, p. 593). So the Kings of Portugal became the Church's agents of missions to Africa, India, the coasts of Asia and Brazil, while the Kings of Spain held similar responsibilities for the New World of the Americas. As the papal bull read, "We demand that you urge the people of these countries and islands to accept Christianity, and let no dangers or pains ever deter you." The government's missionary duties included the responsibility of sending and supporting missionaries; of organizing and dividing episcopal dioceses and naming bishops to their territories. (A. Freitag, The 20th Century Atlas of the Christian World, n.d. 1960, p. 69)

Kings in that mediaeval age took these duties more seriously than one might expect. Spain, for example, sent more than 500 Catholic missionaries to the Americas in only a little more than one, from the voyages of Columbus in 1492 to the death of Philip II in 1598. (Ibid, p. 75). Even Christopher Columbus, though he was not himself a missionary, recognized that the spread of the gospel has as much his responsibility as the call of discovery, and he often signed himself with the Greek and Latin equivalents of his first name, Xpo Ferens (the bearer of Christ).

Nevertheless, padroado, or royal patronage, as a strategy of missions, had serious and crippling drawbacks. It made missions state-directed rather than church-directed. It gave colonial authorities power, if not direct jurisdiction, not only over its own government supported preachers and missionaries but also over many of the voluntary orders as well which considerably hampered the freedom of the missionary movement. It also virtually restricted the missionary force to Portuguese and Spanish subjects, which led ultimately to a serious shortage of missionaries. (Freitag, op. cit. p. 79).

Most tragic of all, padroado forever gave to the foreign missionary movement of the Christian church a stigma of colonialism from which to this day it has not been able to free itself.

② Was it to strengthen himself against further sin? This probably also had something to do with it. But he freely admitted that in the midst of all his violent self-torture he sometimes came near wanting to commit the deadly sin of suicide.

③ Was it to gain merit. He admits that this thought came to him also. He wrote, at one time during an illness brought about by his austerities, the thought came to him that "he could now meet death happily.. [since] 'by his penances [he had] richly earned eternal salvation.'" (ibid, p. 43, citing Gonzales).

④ But all in all – it seems apparent that to Loyola, all of this buffeting of his body was but a form of self-discipline to prepare him for service in the army of the King. As he put it, ~~his past sins~~ the memory of his past sins faded before the consuming necessity to be ready "to do great deeds in the service of Christ." (ibid).

In his history of the Jesuits, René Fülöp-Miller compares Loyola with Lenin. "Lenin, too, had few ideas, but these he sought to put into practice with an earnestness and a power equal to Loyola's... These two men, the greatest zealot of the 16th and the greatest atheist of the 20th century, approached the profound problems of human nature with an iron resolve and were not contented with a few superficial changes, but compelled the complete subjugation and transformation, in accordance with their ideas, of the intellect, the beliefs, the perceptions and the desires of their followers. Both also knew the secret of historical efficacy, which consists in putting every theory to the test of practice, in creating an interplay of fancy, scientific knowledge, clear practical considerations and determined will, through which alone human nature can be mastered. No one else has ever understood to the same extent as Ignatius (Loyola) and Lenin the importance of that power which alone can unite thousands of people in all parts of the world into a uniform and exactly functioning organization: the importance of absolute obedience."

- Ibid, p. 29.

to accept any task in absolute obedience to the Pope. (J. Broderick, St. Francis Xavier, 1506-1552. Lond. Burns Oates, 1952, p. 71) The duty of obedience was at the heart of the Jesuit theology and strategy of mission. When Francis Xavier, for example, the first and greatest of all the Jesuit missionaries, was suddenly told one day that he must take the place of a sick brother and go to India, all he said was, "Good, I'll go", and the next day he was off to Asia. (Ibid, p. 77 f.; and F. A. Flattner, Jesuits Go East.. 1541-1706, Dublin, Clonmore & Reynolds, 1950, p. 17) In the old sailing ships of his day it took him a year and twenty-nine days to reach India. (Broderick, p. 97)

In the next ten years before he died Xavier planted the cross, it has been said, "in fifty-two different kingdoms, preached through nine thousand miles of territory, and baptized over one million persons". (quoted by R. H. Glover, The Progress of World-Wide Missions, N.Y. Harpers, 1952, p. 72) His missionary methods and missiology may be criticized, but not his incredible devotion to Christ, his missionary zeal and unflagging courage and persistence.

Criticism of his methods must include his failure to learn any of the languages of the countries in which he preached, his mass baptisms without conversions, his request to the King of Portugal that the Inquisition be introduced in the colonies in India, and the perennial use of superstitious mediaeval practices such as sprinklings with holy water. But on the credit side are his scathing rebukes of the immorality of the nominally Catholic European colonists, his outpouring love and compassion for the outcastes in Indian society, and his almost instant appreciation and respect for the high cultural level of east Asian civilization, particularly in Japan.

Acceptance and use of all that was best in national, pagan cultures, rather than the outright condemnation of all non-Christian cultures as heathen, became a central characteristic of the Jesuit missiology. It was never separated from an equally central emphasis in Jesuit missionary theology that the unsaved are lost and terribly lost. Loyola's Spiritual Exercises repeat over and over again in frighteningly vivid detail the agony of the damned in hell. (F. F.-Müller, The Jesuits, op. cit., p. 7 ff.) But such realistic, Biblical theological conviction did not prevent Jesuits from learning to respect and admire all that was good in the Japanese and Chinese civilization with which they came in contact.

After only two months in Japan, for instance, Xavier wrote back to Portuguese colonists in Goa who had begun to develop an arrogant sense of superiority over all Asians, "They (i.e. the Japanese) are the best race yet discovered.. Admirable in their social relationships, they have an astonishing sense of honour.. In general, they are not a wealthy people, but neither among nobles nor plebians is poverty regarded as a disgrace.. The Japanese are full of courtesy.. Swearing is little heard.. A good proportion of the people can read or write.. They are monogamists, and they abominate thieving.. Of all the people I have seen in my life, including Christians, the Japanese are the most rigorously opposed to theft. They take pleasure in hearing of the things of God.. and they have no idols made in the shape of beasts. They like to be appealed to on rational grounds, and are ready to

...that what reason vindicates is right." (Broderick, op. cit., p. 360, quoting Xavier's letter dated Nov. 5, 1549).

The organizing genius of Jesuit missions, however, was not so much Xavier as Alessandro Valignani, who was appointed Visitor of the India Mission (i.e. superintendent of all the far east missions) and followed Xavier to Asia in 1574. It was he who developed most clearly the Jesuit principle of conformity and accommodation to local cultures. In Japan, for example, he insisted that the Jesuits live in Japanese-style houses, and build their churches in Japanese architectural patterns, and strictly observe national rules of etiquette and behaviour. He taught the Jesuits to study thoroughly the political life and structure of the countries in which they laboured and to set as their objective the conversion of the center of political power, thereby opening the way to the conversion of ... in a way that is reminiscent of the missiology of the Middle Ages with its focus on converting the nation through the ... (Broderick, p. 366 f.)

It was in 17th century China that the Catholics, under the brilliant pioneer Matteo Ricci, developed a consistent, coherent ... of Mission--a Jesuit missiology--for the conversion of ... Ricci entered China in 1583. He was not the first of his ... China, but he was the first to enter and stay. The first ... missionary in China proper (as distinct from Mongolia) had ... Franciscan, John of Monte Corvino, but the Franciscan ... lapsed in the fall of the Mongol Yuan dynasty in ... the next nearly two hundred years, under the Ming ..., there was no known Catholic mission in China. Then came ... Jesuits.

Jesuit missionary policy in China can be summarized ... under the following points:

1. Linguistic preparation. Xavier had been no linguist, ... Alessandro Valignani was appointed Superintendent of the ... he founded intensive preparatory training in the local ... the Jesuit college at Macao. This included mastery ... and dialects as well as of the peculiar dialect of the ... social class.

2. Indirect cultural approach, rather than direct ... Valignani's comprehensive plan for the Christianization ... Far East was almost military in its strategy and discipline, ... recognizing the immensity and difficulty of the objective (the ... Christianization of the Chinese Empire) it was organized rather for ... long-term siege than for direct frontal assault by confrontation ... evangelism. The Jesuits made no secret of their faith, but did ... not openly emphasize their missionary purpose. They showed great ... interest, rather, in Chinese culture, and when asked why they had ... come they could often reply that the fame of Chinese civilization ... had reached them in their own countries and that they had desired ... to see for themselves the wisdom and high moral development of the ... Chinese. At the same time they made sure of their own mastery of ... the field of learning in which the science of the West was superior to ... that of China, particularly in the field of the natural sciences in

about which Chinese intellectuals were insatiably curious. (Fulop-Miller, p. 236 f.) The Swiss watch and Italian geography and German astronomy were more widely used as missionary tools by the Jesuits than even the Bible. But they did make effective use of Christian literature in the form of beautifully written theological tracts, usually presented as philosophical discussions.

3. Sociological and political pragmatism. The Jesuits were pragmatists, not doctrinaire idealists in matters of mission policy. When they first entered China, wishing to gain recognition as men of piety and religion and not attract attention as foreigners, they took off their priestly robes and dressed as Buddhist monks. Later, when Ricci discovered that the Buddhists were not as greatly respected as he had thought, but were considered illiterate and lazy, he promptly ordered the missionaries to change their dress to that of a more prestigious class, the Confucian scholars. This same principle of pragmatism led them to direct their efforts toward the ruling classes rather than the masses, in the hope that thereby they could influence the Chinese court to open up the country freely to the propagation of the Christian religion. Ricci tried to reach the Ming Emperors, and after the fall of the Ming, his successors, Adam Schall and Verbiest, were at last successful in gaining the favor of the new Manchu rulers. The policy was finally vindicated when, in 1692, the Emperor K'ang Hsi, who was greatly impressed by Verbiest, granted an edict of toleration, and for the first time in some 300 years the Christian faith was again officially legal in China.

That victory, however, was soon followed by disaster. It was these same principles of accommodation and pragmatic adaptation to circumstances that soon embroiled the Jesuit missionaries in a controversy which was to divide the Catholic missions against each other, cripple the Chinese church, alienate the Imperial Court, and finally lead to the dissolution of the Jesuit Mission itself. It is called the Rites Controversy, and lasted for a hundred stormy years, from 1643 to 1742.

The main point at issue was whether Christians should be allowed to participate in the Chinese rites of ancestor worship. Other issues were also involved, such as what Chinese name should be used for the Christian God, and how far Christians might follow Chinese funeral customs, but the central issue was ancestor worship. The Jesuits said that Christians should adapt as far as possible to Chinese ways and "baptize" the rites for Christian use. But other Catholic missionary societies, notably the Dominicans, jealous of Jesuit success condemned the policy as a compromise with heathenism.

The Dominicans took their charges to the Pope. Was it right, they asked, for Chinese Christians to contribute to community sacrifices to pagan divinities; to attend official sacrifices if they concealed under their clothes a cross; to take part in sacrifices to Confucius and to honor the ancestral tablets? The answer of the Pope, in an edict of 1645, was "No". But the Jesuits at once objected that the Dominicans had misrepresented their policy, and explained in great detail to the Pope what they really taught. So in 1656 the Pope reversed himself, with a typical papal compromise. While the practices described ~~as~~ by the Dominicans were wrong, as described by the Jesuits they were all right. The edict permitted Chinese Christians to observe all civil and political ceremonies, and even "ceremonies in honor of the dead" provided that

their superstitious features were removed, and even permitting the superstitious ceremonies if Christians attending them at the same time disavowed the superstitious features with a public protestation of their faith. (Latourette, History of Christian Missions in China, N.Y., Macmillan, 1929, p. 135 ff.)

Despite the compromise, the controversy spread. Against the Jesuits were the Dominicans and the French Mission. For the Jesuits were the Franciscans, the Augustinians and the only Chinese bishop in China, a Dominican. In 1700 the Emperor K'ang Hsi tried to help his Jesuit friends with an announcement that "honors paid to Confucius" were only to Confucius as a legislator and not to Confucius as a religious leader; and that ancestral rites were only a "demonstration of love and a commemmoration of the good the dead had done during their lives". (Latourette, op. cit. p. 140). But though the Jesuits had the Emperor and most of the China Catholic missions on their side, in ~~the~~ the Roman church it takes just one vote to win a controversy--the Pope's. And in 1704 the Jesuits lost that one important vote.

On Nov. 20, 1704, Pope Clement XI confirmed a decree of the Inquisition ruling against Jesuit policies in China. It contained three main points:

1. It forbade the use of Shang Ti, and T'ien as the Chinese name for God, but permitted the use of T'ien-Chu (Lord of Heaven).
2. It forbade Christians to take part in sacrifices to Confucius or to ancestors.
3. It forbade ancestral tablets marked "the throne of the spirit of the dead", but permitted ancestral tablets if they carried only the name of the dead ancestor.

The reaction was stormy and violent. The Pope sent envoys to try to enforce the decrees, and to persuade the Jesuits to accept them. The envoys failed. The Pope issued papal Bulls (decrees) threatening all who opposed his decision. But the Chinese Emperor, whose sympathies were all with the Jesuits, simply refused to allow the Bishop of Peking to post the Bulls or publicize them. He said, "If the Pope can't enforce a Bull against the Jansenists in Catholic France (referring to a dispute with Augustinianism there), how can he enforce one against Christians in non-Christian China." Not until 1742 was the Pope able to enforce his decision and demand absolute submission from Catholics in China, but by then he had so angered the Chinese Emperor that a wave of persecution set in from which the church did not recover for a hundred years. In 1717 all Chinese Christians had already been ordered to renounce the Christian faith.

Much can be said on both sides of the controversy. On the one hand the papal position protected the integrity and purity and uniqueness of the Christian faith, which is important. But on the other, it unavoidably stigmatized the Christian faith in China as foreign and un-Chinese; and it led directly to the break-up of the most successful missionary society the Catholics had ever had in China, the Jesuits. For its resistance against the Pope the Society of Jesus was dissolved by Rome in 1774. Whatever the merits on either side of the controversy, the net result was a hundred years of persecution and an abrupt end to church growth in China.

THE MISSIOLOGY WE NEED

The Missiology We Need is Under Authority

Obviously, the missiology we need is under the authority of the Scriptures, and of the sending Christ. The ultimate test of its truth derives from the nobility of the Sender. It is inconceivable that worthwhile missiology should be carried on unversed, unsubmerged in Scripture.

As a human process, it should be under the authority of fellow missiologists. As peers we ought to do better than professional societies and their ideals because the Scriptures call us to mutual submission. The profession requires us to develop and apply canons of research and practice. Every forum of publication, fellowship and meeting should serve to refine our views of missiological reality. We are not free of our humanity and therefore our smallness and fixations even when we deal with revelation. Balance and fullness will come from exposure to mutual critique. Without such exposure we will forever trap ourselves in the narrowness of bias, or miss the enlargement that comes from others. Largeness of spirit equal to the task will result only from mutual candor and solid critique.

The Missiology We Need Incorporates Theoretical (Theological) Tension

Real progress seems frequently to demand an opposing statement. Cutting open a cocoon to avoid struggle will cripple and kill any butterfly. Stimulus forward requires divergent views. Too few well articulated alternative views have currency in today's missiology. There is nothing so practical as good theory, for "good" theory condenses complexity and makes a simplifying systematic statement that corresponds to the real world, the arena of action. But "good" theory (read: theology) will never evolve out of monolithic opinion.

The Missiology We Need is Tested Against Reality in Practice

Missiology is more than just theology of mission. It must provide a basis to clarify the task at hand and inform the use of resources God gives. Its technical terms should be few and be readily understandable. On the other hand, there is nothing so empty as poorly defined gut-level concept which passes for a construction of the world. These too often gain eminence as a kind of "everyone knows" daily wisdom. Missiology engages in the discipline of thinking about itself. Few Christians are aware of the degree to which the Western theology of missions pays devotion to unreconstructed Western liberalism veiled in the guise of respect for the individual. Intense individualism or individual liberation as first priority is the hallmark of classic liberal thought. Such values are there in Scripture, but a call to individual conversion hardly constitutes a cogent, practical missiology.

The Missiology We Need is Oriented to the Field of Harvest

It is a means, and not an end in itself. It is therefore impatiently task-oriented. It operates where the Church needs to be and is not. It is involved (or should be) with the process of discipling the nations and peoples. The missiology we need requires involvement. It is difficult, if not impossible, to imagine "doing"

OF BREAKAGE AND GROWTH

Haw! Haw!

My raucous guffaw must have been heard several houses away.

A mere twig of a poinsettia (they grow to twelve feet bushes in the tropics) broken in a Lima backyard by a small boy, dangled in the gentle breeze, loose in a shallow but oversized hole. My son's hands had been unable to jam it more than an inch or so into the soil, and thus mask or repair the damage. An ugly split branch several feet away gave further evidence of his accident. He had mischievously played in some fantasy world (maybe his active imagination, which frequently got him in trouble, transformed the flower bed into some deep jungle).

Almost carelessly, I sank the twig deep to preserve his attempt at repair, and just maybe, if he found it withered, to allow him to learn privately the lesson of being found out by the past.

After an earlier episode of disobedience, I had tried, oh so hard, to persuade him that he needed Jesus to help him be the good boy he and I both wanted. I asked if he wanted to pray for Jesus' help. I can still feel him slide off my knee and scrape my heart with: "No, Daddy, not now." Short minutes later, hard on the heels of a horrendous crash, the hurried patter of feet was followed by a plaintive: "Pray now, Daddy."

Years later (was he eight now?) Marianna and I arrived home after an evening out, and I lifted the plastic cover off the teapot to fill it. Long melted strings stretched down into the pot as I pulled an outwardly sound lid free. Anticipating, a call from the other room: "I almost had an accident with the teapot boiling dry, but I caught it just in time!" How can one reprimand sternly while broken up with laughter?

The poinsettia grew, became a tall bush and flowered yearly.

The "Pray now, Daddy" as an illustration in Daddy's sermons has helped many to see the games we play with God, and our humanity.

And we never missed the teapot cover.

He is largely beyond my authority and decision now. He may break more than twigs and melt tops (didn't I?) and the issues are sterner now. But this is the risk and payoff of preparing my son for maturity.

And meanwhile, how many broken twigs am I still pushing into shallow soil, Father? How many projects are there that are "almost, but I jumped in in time?"

I pray now, Father, give life your meaning when branches break and an occasional lid melts. Somehow, your loving care persuades me they are not that important. What matters will not be how we cover inadvertent failings, but our trusting attempts to serve faithfully.

And when they do, make them grow for your glory.

Sam Wilson

effective missiology apart from regular contact with the Church's mission. Because this is so, missiologies need continually to renew ways of conceptualizing the task in contact with the field. Otherwise we will be betrayed subconsciously into blindness and exclude peoples from our purview and efforts. Thankfully they will not be lost to God's love and concern. But for us, a doing, reviewing balance is in order.

The missiology we need is at least a three-way balance of thought, action and teaching. It has nothing to offer if it becomes so esoteric it has no practical application. Doing by rote without reflection what began by caprice in history and became traditional leads to futility. Missiology is equally vain if it is not sharpened by the requirement of teaching, so that understanding and skill born by the Holy Spirit is made readily communicable. It reproduces itself, and its example is powerful. Missiologists should beget cross-cultural evangelists.

The Missiology We Need is Cosmopolitan

Its focus runs the gamut from individual experience to the sweep of global histories. The missiology we need carries an identity scar. The challenge of cross-cultural encounter regularly shakes it, regardless of its geographic or social origin. It undergoes and benefits from a re-reading of histories on numerous occasions. It thus is not, and cannot become, static. Missiologists, both Western and non-Western, have generally moved beyond terminology that looks down our noses in superiority. Happily, there is seldom an appeal to the analogue of "mother and daughter" anymore. "Younger" churches is no longer in vogue. Still our slow conceptual progress has strewn our history with such embarrassing fossils. We will, however, not have "arrived" until we are past the day when merely saying "that is North American, or German, or Latin" is reason enough for rejection.

The Missiology We Need is Glandular

It partakes of the emotions evoked by human need. This includes the pathetic plight of the physically and politically downtrodden, and sensing and responding in love to the eternal plight of spiritual lostness. It can feel, and must not be unconcerned. Conversely, it is capable of appraisal and evaluation that will not be swept away in a swirl of emotion.

The Missiology We Need is Broadly Eclectic

The missiology we need is broadly eclectic in the disciplines it takes as its instructors. Anthropology has made it possible to talk in terms of missiology. Other social sciences, such as sociology, political science, economics and history should make their contribution. Communications and its supporting theory are virtually essential. As each of these makes its mark, missiology will pass through periods which are tense, where divergent views keep the field from unanimity. There will be times when the predominence of strong schools of thought cause us to wander temporarily. But the Church will be brought faithfully back to her mandate by the Spirit as we serve in the discipline of mind to follow His lead.

Under authority, incorporating thought tension, tested in the reality of practice, oriented to harvest, cosmopolitan, glandular, eclectic--not descriptions many would choose for their profession. What do you think of them as descriptions of the missiology we need?

CONTACTS WITH COWE CONVENERS CONTINUE (Continued)

During February Burt Singleton met with COWE conveners and participants in Australia, New Zealand, Singapore, Korea and Japan.

During March Sam Wilson will complete visits to Caracas, Bogota, Quito, Lima, Santiago, Buenos Aires, Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. Wilson will be making arrangements for the visit of Ray Bakke, LCWE Large City Coordinator, to hold strategy conferences, present case studies of urban evangelism, share his experience in working in and studying large cities, and lecture in seminaries during June and July. Contact Sam Wilson for more information.

URBAN DESCRIPTIVE DATA FOR *UNREACHED PEOPLES '82*

Unreached Peoples '82 will focus on urban people groups, and is being coordinated by Ray Bakke, International Coordinator for Reaching Large Cities under the Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization. One section of each volume is made up of expanded descriptions of people groups related to the theme. Descriptions for urban people groups are needed. (Cf. *Unreached Peoples '81*, pp 180,1, "industrial Workers...Jeepney Drivers...")

If you would like to contribute an expanded description for *Unreached Peoples '82* we will be pleased to send you Unreached People Questionnaires, a sample expanded description and guidelines on how to proceed. Expanded descriptions are normally 300 to 500 words in length and supply the additional insight needed to complement the statistical tables. Please contact the Unreached Peoples Program, MARC.

THE MEDIA BIBLE

The Genesis Project has now put most of Genesis and the Gospel according to Luke on film for use in both Bible teaching and evangelism. The approach is to make accurate films of the biblical stories in such a way that they can be dubbed into other languages. Project coordinators hope to build on the broad cross-cultural possibilities of the medium. Thirty-three films cover Genesis and Luke.

For more information write to Gary M. Gray, National Sales Executive, P.O. Box 37282, Washington D.C. 20013.

LAUSANNE COMMITTEE SEEKS STAFF

The Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization is seeking two new officers to locate in the London Office. Reverend Gottfried Osei-Mensah, Executive Secretary, has announced openings for posts of Office Administrator and Communications Officer. The Administrative Officer should be "a mature evangelical, capable of handling international correspondence, an enthusiastic facilitator capable of guiding international program development and assisting the executive secretary in furthering the aims and objectives to the Covenant. The Communications Officer should be experienced in press relations, the origination and production of audiovisuals, editing, producing and distributing publications. His charge will be to communicate the spirit and philosophy of LCWE. He should have Third World experience, and preferably have facility in French, English, German and Spanish." Direct inquiries to Reverend Gottfried Osei-Mensah, LCWE, P. O. Box 21225, Nairobi, Kenya.

even more strongly under Leo's adviser and eventual successor Hildebrand (Gregory VII, 1073-1085). Thus once again the reforming vitality of a "sodality" was instrumental in breathing new life into the churchly "modality". The spiritual power of a Hildebrand, skillfully exercised and organized in his capacity as pope, proved more than a match for the secular power of an emperor. At Canossa (1077) the Holy Roman Emperor Henry IV stood barefoot and penitent in the snow for three days begging Hildebrand to release him from excommunication. (See Hildebrand's own account in Henderson, Hist. Documents of the Middle Ages, p. 386 ff.) This has been called "the most dramatic illustration in church history of the power of the church in the world. But as in the crusades, the use of spiritual power for temporal ends brings mixed results. In the end the good pope died in exile and the final resolution of the controversy between pope and emperor over which had authority to elect and invest bishops was a compromise. The Concordat of Worms (1122) ruled that both pope and emperor must approve the choice of bishops and abbots thus recognizing a touch of spiritual authority in the state, and of temporal power in the papacy.

E. The Decline of the Church in Asia.

1. Mohammedan mastery of western Asia. The four hundred years from 800 to 1200 saw the great Christian centers of the mid-east--Antioch, Edessa, Ctesiphon (and Baghdad) transformed from radiating centers of Christian mission to ingrown Christian ghettoes in a Mohammedan sea. The ill-fated attempt of the crusades to rescue them only made their situation worse.

For more than a century after the Moslem conquest Nestorian Christians were treated with remarkable tolerance by the Ommayad dynasty (661-750 AD, but under the Abbasid Caliphs (750-c. 1100) repression gradually increased. Persecution flared for a time in the reign of a Moslem contemporary of Charlemagne, Haroun al-Rashid of Arabian Nights fame (786-809, when Christians were accused of alliance with Constantinople. By the end of the 10th c. (987) the Moslem Caliphs had taken from the Christian bishops the right of electing their Nestorian patriarch. The mad Caliph al-Hakim (1009-20) was the fiercest of the persecutors, forcing Christians he did not kill to wear five-pound wooden crosses around their necks. Far more effective than violence, was the steady pressure of persecution by taxation. Ever since the conquest the only escape for a Christian from the ever heavier financial harrasment was conversion to Islam.

But the fate of the eastern church under the Moslems was, in the final analysis, the deliberate choice of the church and its people. What produced the withered ghettoes of the Nestorians and Monophysites was not so much the sword of Islam as the law of Islam. The law permitted Christians to worship but forbade them to propagate their faith. Faced with a choice between survival and witness the churches of the eastchose survival. They ceased to evangelize. They survived, but what survived was no longer a whole and living church.

2. The disappearance of the Nestorians in China. Some time between 800 and 1000 AD the Nestorian mission in China vanished almost without a trace. Of the various reasons usually given for their decline, the following are most persuasive: the defeat of the Uigurs, a strongly supportive tribe; the great anti-Buddhist persecution (848-67) which spilled over against Christians; and the fall of the T'ang dynasty in 907. But the ultimate reason may have been inner weakness, not outer opposition: superstition, moral decline, syncretistic compromise with oriental religions and failure to develop Chinese leadership. But even as it disappeared in China, beginning about 1000 AD a new invigoration of the faith appeared in Central Asia among tribes destined to become the new dominant power of East Asia, the Mongols.

J. H. Bavinck. The Impact of Xty on the Non-Xn World. Grand Rapids Eerdmans 1945

I Rediscovery of the Missionary Task.

The Idea of Missions

a. Earlier view to regard missions as a deed of mercy, performed by the church. Poverty, misery. But this is too human a perspective. It must be seen from God's pt of view.

b. Biblical view: God commissions, & Jesus is the missionary (Heb. 3:1). All missionary labor is, in the deepest sense the work of the great Apostle (missionary), J.X. who works in and thru those He sends.

∴ ① Missions may not be the work of a society but are the resp of the Church. Bp of Dornakal, "The Chch exists not to save itself but to save others" The Chch as a whole must be missionary. (p 15f)

② Missions are still possible even in times of great difficulty. The old optimism ("evangel of world in our generation") is gone But when we go with Christ - his command is a promise. (p. 16f)

③ If missions is "the continuing activity of the exalted Lord in calling all nations to His light" then the missionary task is to must concern itself with the whole man in all his problems & relations." Jesus Xt is a perfect Redeemer. He 'makes all things new': (Rev. 21:5) "It is not possible to be a Xn at home and to surrender the world about us to the destructive influence of sin (p. 18f.) Heathen religions are totalitarian - control life from cradle to grave.

MISSIOLOGY

Introduction to Missiology

Missiology, or the science of Christian missions, is a comparatively new development in the field of theological studies. This is rather surprising, since the church was from the very beginning a missionary church. But in its early years the church was spontaneously and unselfconsciously missionary. Led by the Holy Spirit, it did not feel the need for systematic and objective study of the reasons or the methods of its mission to reach the whole world with the good news of salvation in Jesus Christ. The Lord had commanded it. That was enough.

Moreover, in the early years the mission encountered few of the problems of communicating the gospel across cultural and national boundaries that are such a difficult, practical problem in modern missions. The first missionary work was done almost entirely within the boundaries of one cultural and national unit, the Roman Empire. Only when missionaries began to push across the boundaries of Rome into Asia in one direction, and into northern Europe in the other, did the conduct of Christian missions begin to demand more systematic consideration of its basic motives and goals and policies and methods.

Early Missiological Writings

It was fifteen hundred years before any books appeared which would be called "missiological" in the modern, scientific sense, but references and writings did appear here and there in earlier periods which dealt in some measure with the theory or the problems of Christian missions.

1. ~~Augustine~~ Paul (d. ca. 64). All of Paul's epistles are really essentially missionary letters, full of missiological principles and examples but they are not systematized around the concept of missions as such. Not until the 20th century was any systematic study made of Paul's missionary methods and principles (see, for example, Roland Allen, Missionary Methods: St. Paul's or Ours?)

2. Augustine (354-430). In the fifth century, Augustine's On Catechizing the Unlearned, contains some good advice for missionaries, suggesting that in their teaching they should begin with what is easiest to understand in the Christian faith, and only gradually introduce the more difficult doctrines.

3. Pope Gregory I (540-604). Pope Gregory the Great was one of the greatest advocates of Christian missions in the history of the papacy, and is famous as the organizer of the first Catholic mission to England in 595 A.D. His Letters are full of statements on missionary strategy and methods. Gregory emphasized three main missionary principles: (1) The mission should be church-centered and church-controlled. (2) Missionary policy must be adapted and accommodated to local customs and cultures. (3) One of the most important goals of the mission must be to convert kings and rulers.

4. Thomas Aquinas (b. 1224). The first real handbook on missions did not appear until late in the Middle Ages. It is the Summa contra Gentiles of St. Thomas Aquinas, which was specifically written for the training of missionaries to the Mohammedans. Aquinas was one of the first to recognize that different kinds of unbelievers will require different kinds of presentations of the gospel. Jews, for example, already accept the Old Testament, and even heretics recognize the authority of the New Testament, or at least important parts of it. But Moslems, he points out, do not recognize the authority of Scripture at all. They must be approached, therefore, not so much with Scripture verses, but with an appeal to reason and logic, and must be led on from there by reasonable stages to a recognition of the claims of Jesus Christ.

Missiology in the 16th to 19th Centuries

About the time of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, more systematic books on missions began to appear. The first works on the theory of missions, in the modern sense, were by two Catholics: Jose de Acosta, SJ, On procuring the Salvation of the Indians (1588), and Thomas a Jesu, On procuring the Salvation of all men (1613). The first Protestant writer on missionary theory was the Dutch Reformed theologian, Gisbert Voetius (1589-1676), and the first missiological work in English was Robert Millar's History of the Propagation of Christianity (1723). But still, by and large, the study of missions was considered something of a side-issue to be pursued only by those with a special calling to missionary work. It was Schleiermacher, the famous 19th century Protestant theologian (1768-1834), who made the first effective suggestion that the study of missions belonged in its own right in any complete system of theological studies.

Gustav Warneck (1834-1910). The pioneer of missiology as the scientific study of missions was the German pastor and professor, Gustav Warneck. In 1874 this Protestant pastor founded a new Christian journal devoted to the study of missions. It was called Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift (The Universal Missions Magazine), usually known as AMZ. And in 1892 he published the first of 5 volumes of the first systematic treatise on missionary science, Evangelische Missionslehre (An Evangelical Doctrine of Missions, 1892-1903). He bases his missionary theory on scripture and missionary experience. The book's usefulness today is limited. Its practical missionary advice is based on colonial situations no longer relevant; and its missionary theory is weakened by a view of missions as a divine process of education. But Warneck's emphasis on missionary freedom from colonial controls, on church planting and indigenization, and on mission as "the extension of the kingdom of God" exerted great influence on the development of modern missions.

Josef Schmidlin (1876-1944). The Roman Catholic counterpart to Warneck was Josef Schmidlin, the first full Professor of Missions in the University of Munster, whose mission theory was greatly influenced by Warneck. In 1911 he founded the important missionary journal Zeitschrift f. Missionswissenschaft (Magazine for Missionary Science), usually abbreviated as ZM.

INTRODUCTION TO MISSIOLOGY

Samuel H. Moffett.

I. From the Early Church to the Reformation

(Summary)

Introduction: Missiology is a new science, unrecognized by the early church, and undeveloped by the church of the Middle Ages. As for the Protestant Reformation, it not only had no explicit missiology, for the most part it did not even seem to believe in foreign missions. Even the modern missionary movement failed to develope a systematic, recognized science of missions until the 20th century, and that science of missions, or missiology as it is now called, is still fighting for a recognized place in the theological curriculum.

A. Missiology in the Early Church.

The early church had no science of missions. The earliest record of a missionary strategy, outside the New Testament, records that the apostles simply threw lots to determine their mission fields. The account is, of course, apocryphal. Nevertheless, they were not led by scientific mission strategy, but by the Spirit. J. H. Bavinck, in his Introduction to the Science of Missions (which is the best text-book, I think, for this course) writes, "The ancient church conducted missionary work as though it were self-explanatory; it never asked: why do we have missions? ... its testimony was..spontaneous..and natural."

The church fathers give only scattered mention of missionary outreach, and few notices of missionary methods. Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical History gives a very doubtful version of the beginnings of mission to Asia beyond the Roman Empire. Augustine has some good advice for missionaries such as "Don't try to teach new believers everything at once, but explain the gospel in easy stages". But he also took a dangerous position when he suggested that the use of political force to coerce the conversion of unbelievers might be permissible. But such references are isolated and do not really deal with cross-country missions. The world of the church fathers was limited to the world of Roman culture, and no science of cross-cultural missions was developed in that period.

B. Missiology in the Middle Ages.

Even when the Roman Empire collapsed and the Roman Church took its place as the focus of contact between Christendom and the pagan world, the church developed no systematic theory of missionary theology or practice.

1. The conversion of Europe. The great missionary achievement of the age was the conversion of Europe, but this was achieved in bits and pieces, by devout but isolated pioneers, or by politically motivated rulers, and not by any over-all, coherent strategy of missions.

let me speak first of the aim of missions in this period. It was directed primarily to the conversion, or more properly Christianization of nations rather than individuals. The object was to convert kings and rulers, like Clovis of the Franks.

Methods and strategy are not clearly defined. The most important were force, monasticism and indigenization. One of the most famous documents of missions strategy in this period is Pope Gregory's letter of 601 A.D. to his missionaries in England. He advocates two important missionary policies: (1) organize the church as early as possible, and (2) do not condemn everything in the pagan religions, but "baptize" as much of it as possible, making it Christian and using it as a bridge into the Christian faith. Perhaps the most effective single piece of missions strategy in the conversion of Europe was the founding of monasteries by the Irish missionaries to Europe as centers of missionary outreach. The most famous of these missionaries was St. Columban.

In the same period, a more questionable missionary practice was the use of political and military force by a Christian conqueror like Charlemagne to convert the Saxons in the 8th century. Although in this Charlemagne was only adapting a method suggested by the great St. Augustine, his adviser, the great educator Alcuin, reminded him of Augustine's better missionary advice, alluded to above, in which he warns missionaries not to expect too much of new converts too quickly. Unfortunately, military and political for Christian mission became the unarticulated but widely practiced strategy of most of the Christian missions of the Middle Ages, and led to the greatest missionary mistake in church history, the attempt to Christianize the Moslem world by force of arms in the Crusades.

2. The rise of voluntary societies. The failure of the Crusades led to a re-direction of the church's missionary methods into more positive channels as the main-stream of Catholic missions was taken out of the hands of Christian rulers and the secularized papacy of the 13th and 14th centuries, and taken up devout and spiritual members of the great voluntary societies of the church, the Roman Catholic Orders, particularly the Franciscans and the Dominicans.

Francis of Assisi, founder of the Franciscans, sent himself as a missionary to Egypt to try to convert the Sultan. Raymond Lull, another Franciscan was the greatest missionary to Islam of them all, and his call to mission was a direct repudiation of the crusades. "They think they can conquer by force of arms," he wrote. "It seems to me that the victory can be won in no other way than as Thou, O Lord Christ, didst seek to win it, by love and prayer and self-sacrifice." Bishop Neill, in his History of Christian Missions calls this "a notable shift.. in the missionary methods of the Christian Churches. For five centuries at the heart of the missionary enterprise had stood the monastery.. From now on and for two centuries the central place will be held by the two great Order of (Preaching) Friars, the Franciscans and the Dominicans." (p. 116)

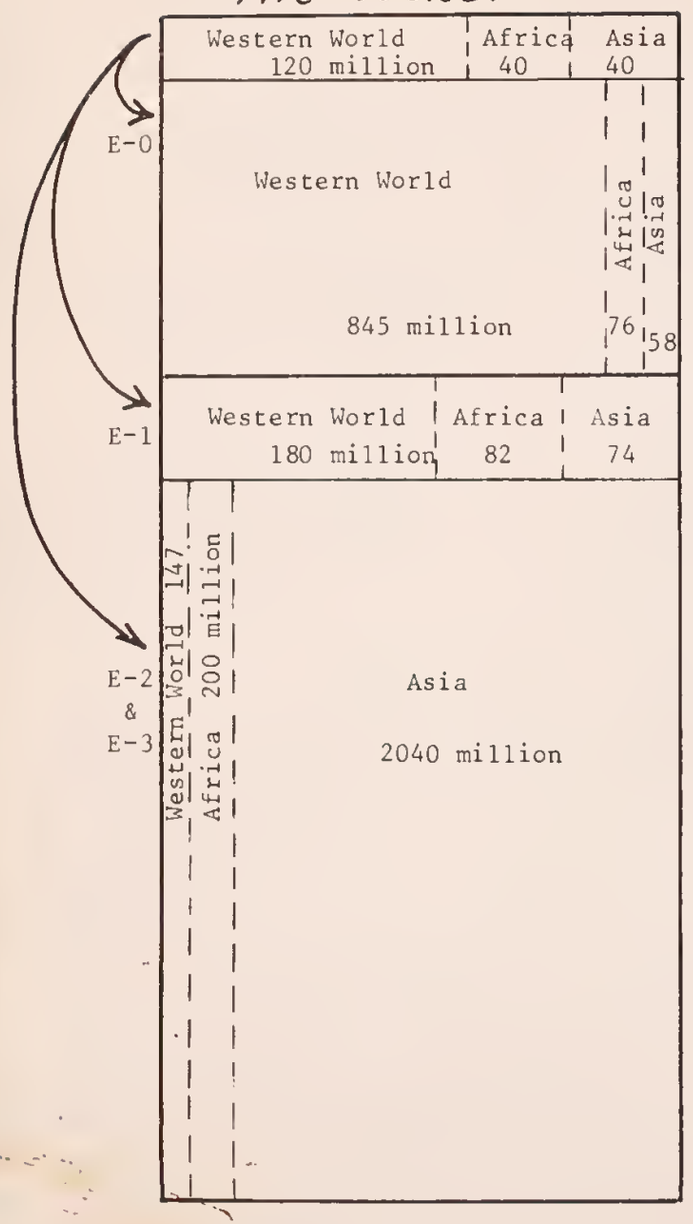
The missionary zeal of the Franciscans took them far beyond the land of the Mohammedans, to China, at the end of the world. They divided Mongol territory into four ecclesiastical territories for mission: Kipchak, Persia, Turkestan and China. The first Catholic missionary to reach China was a Franciscan, John of Plan de Carpine in 1246. The Dominicans even organized a branch of their Society specifically for foreign missions, the Societas Fratrum Peregrinantium propter Christum.

The Catholic church even began to develope a theology of missions. Thomas Aquinas explored the theological implications of the church's mission

to the non-believing world in Ai Summa Contra Gentiles, noting that a different approach would be needed to present the gospel to complete pagans, like the Moslems, from that which Christians might use with those who are nearer to the faith, like Jews or heretics, since Jews accept at least the Old Testament, and heretics the New Testament as well, and thus the Bible can be used in whole or in part as a standard of appeal with them. But for complete pagans, he concluded, the only common basis of argument is the appeal to natural reason. It was three more centuries, however, before Catholic theologians began to develope more complete and systematic theologies of mission, stimulated by the challenge of whole new worlds of pagan peoples opened up by the Age of Discovery. The most important of these are the writings of Joannes Azorius (1535-1603), Antonius Posevinus (1534-1611), and Thomas a Jesu.

each participant in Lausanne paces 1 million non-believers world

THE WORLD



Nurture
200 million

Renewal
979 million

ORDINARY
Evangelism
336 million
13%

CROSS-CULTURAL
Evangelism
2387 million
87%

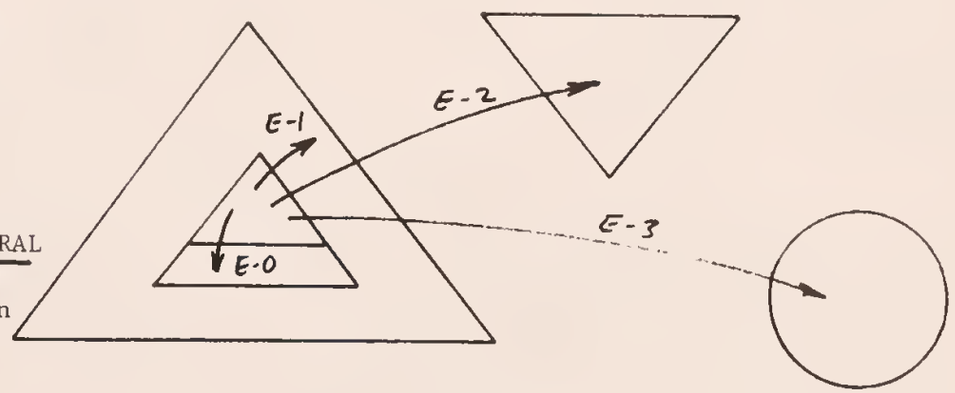
CHRISTIANS	Western (Contr.)	Africa	Asia (Tec)	TOTAL
(Committed) Nurture	120	40	40	200
(Nominal) E-0 Renewal	845	76	58	979
	965	116	98	1179
NON-CHRISTIANS				
E-1 Ord. Ev.	180	82	74	336
E-2,E-3, CC Ev.	147	200	2040	2387
	327	282	2114	2723
GRAND TOTAL	1292	398	2212	3902

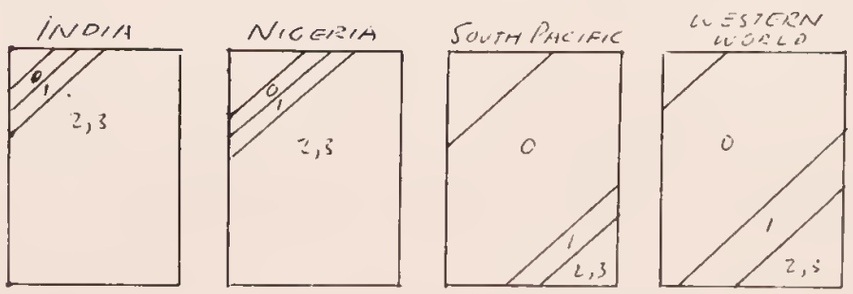
in millions

(necessary 7,000 . day

13%

87%





SAT, 20 July 74

V. The Missiology of the Reformation

Protestants have always been a little defensive about the fact that while Catholic theologians were beginning to grapple seriously with the imperatives of missionary outreach to the world, and while the Catholic missionaries of the missionary orders were reaching the farthest corners of the world--(Xavier landed in Japan fifteen years before the death of Calvin)--the Reformers seemed singularly unconcerned about the lostness of the world outside Christendom.

A. Luther and the Lutherans.

Luther's view of missions has been defended by some Lutherans, but Gustav Warneck, in his important pioneering work, Outline of a History of Protestant Missions, shows all too clearly (its inadequacy) "we miss in the Reformers not only missionary action, but even the idea of missions in the sense in which we understand them today," he writes. "And this not only because the newly discovered heathen world across the sea lay almost wholly beyond the range of their vision..but because fundamental theological views hindered them from giving their activity, and even their thoughts, a missionary direction". (p. 9). We concentrates most of his critique on Luther, whose call was to reformation, not to mission.

Luther seemed to have had three main reasons for neglecting the missionary command of Christ; first, a misinterpretation of Scripture; second, a misreading of church history; and third, too literal an eschatology. His misinterpretation of Scripture was his view that "the nations" (ta ethne) to whom our Lord sends his witnesses are the already converted Christian nations of Europe, not in times past out of heathen darkness. This makes it easy for him to think of the Reformation mission within Christendom as the continuing fulfillment of the missionary command. His misreading of church history is his conviction that the world has already been reached by the gospel, even back in the days of the first apostles, so he feels no sense of unfinished divine task. And finally, his eschatology included the curious conviction that some time in the year 1550 the last day would come.* Such being the case, the end was too near for serious missionary effort. Besides, had not Christ predicted, in Luke 18:8, that when he returned he would find no faith on the earth?

Melanchthon even more than Luther taught that the missionary commandment was directed only to the Apostles, so is no longer binding upon the church. Later orthodox Lutheranism, opposing the immoderate missionary zeal of the Pietists, hardened into direct hostility against foreign missions.

* On Matt. 24. The world is running so hastily towards its end that serious thoughts often occur as to whether the last Day may not break before the translation of the Holy Scriptures into German can be completed. For it is certain that we must foretell things prophesied in Scripture are to be fulfilled. The Roman Empire has fallen; the Turk has reached his height; the glory of the Papacy is declining, and the world is cracking at all ends as though about to break and fall. (H.E. Jacobs. Martin Luther, p. 391)

B. The Reformed Tradition.

Zwingli, while agreeing that the apostles had fulfilled most of the Great Commission, nevertheless recognized that they had not reached the whole world, and that, therefore, the work of world missions must be continued. The role of the apostle, or missionary, did not die with the original apostles, he believed; it is still valid. "Their office," he writes, "is ever to go among the unbelieving and to turn them to the faith, while the bishop remains stationary by those committed to his care." He even chides the Anabaptists for claiming apostolic succession when their so-called "apostles" do not qualify for the title since they do not go out and preach to unbelievers. Despite such a promising beginning of what might have been a missiology, Zwingli said nothing about the duty of the church to send out missionaries. In fact, on one crucial theological point he virtually cuts the nerve of the missionary imperative. Zwingli lapsed in one passage into a kind of limited universalism which kept him from feeling the urgency of reaching the unreached with the gospel. "Pious heathen", he wrote--outstanding and moral men like Socrates and Seneca--would be saved even though they died without a knowledge of the gospel. (C. H. Robinson, History of Christian Missions, op. cit. p. 43)

Calvin's Institutes contain no such potentially fatal compromise with universalism, but in some ways it is even more disappointing missiologically than Zwingli. Zwingli at least recognized that the Biblical function of the missionary was still operative in the church. Calvin, however, writes that the office of apostle (by which he meant missionary) was not intended by Christ to be "of perpetual continuance in the Church, but only for that age when churches were to be raised where none had existed before." (Inst. IV, iii, 4). And since, as he implies, but does not directly state, the apostles had already filled the command of Christ and preached the gospel as missionaries to the whole world, in all nations, the age has passed and the office has lapsed. He does not deny a continuing need for such apostles and evangelists "in our own time", but outlines their role as not for taking the gospel to unreached nations (the nations have been reached), but rather for the recovery of the church "from the defection of Antichrist".(Ibid). In other words, like Luther, Calvin's concept of the Christian mission is almost entirely limited to the work of the Reformation.

Martin Bucer, too, whose key role in the Reformation has only recently been rediscovered by historians, has little to add to any possible "Reformation missiology". He prayed earnestly that all men, "even Jews, Turks and all unbelievers...may be wholly brought to (Christ)". He complained that Christians in the new age of discovery "seek the land and goods..of heathen peoples, but there is little trace of earnestness as to how one may win their souls to Christ our Lord" (quoted by Warneck, op. cit. p. 18). On that foundation he might well have begun to build a call to world mission that could have shaken the Reformers out of their obsession with the problems of the church in Europe. But two common theological misunderstandings cut off his missiology at the roots. The first is the recurring, perverse belief that the apostles had already fulfilled the Great Commission. The other was a misapplication of the doctrine of predestination. Since God has already predestined the elect to salvation, "Christians," wrote Bucer, "require to do nothing else than what they have done hitherto; let everyone occupy his station for the gospel, and the kingdom of Christ will grow". (Warneck, op. cit. p. 19)

C. A Re-assessment of the Missiology of the Reformers.

In the light of the above brief review of the all too few references to world mission in the writings of the Reformers, it is not surprising that it has become almost a dogma that the main-line Reformers, if not anti-missionary, were at least indifferent to missions to the unreached parts of the world.

It has been noted that the men who spoke out most unequivocally for missions to the unreached in the age of the reformation were either neutrals like Erasmus or heretics like the scientist Paracelsus. Erasmus, in his Treatise on the Art of Preaching (1535), urges the enrichment of the world of the unbelievers with the spiritual treasure of the gospel, and in an emotional cry from the heart wishes that God had accounted him worthy to die as a missionary to the heathen. (Mrs. Ashley Carus-Wilson, The Expansion of Christendom, Lond. 1910, p. 127) Paracelsus, the famous pioneer naturalist and independent-minded spiritualist who is credited with the discovery of hydrogen but who mixed his science with large doses of astrology and superstition, should also be credited with an early proposal that Christians should not only talk about missions but organize for mission. He suggested a kind of para-missionary outreach, "a migrant, non-ecclesiastical apostolate with a missionary emphasis" (H. W. Gensichen, in The Student World, vol. LII, 1960, p. 127), that sounds remarkably like some of the latest innovations in volunteer, mobile missionary service by laymen and laywomen.

In the last two decades, however, historians of missions have begun to come to the defense of the Reformers' theology of missions. A notable example of this is an article in a special issue on missions the the magazine of the World Student Christian Federation magazine, The Student World, in 1960. The issue was entitled "History's Lessons for Tomorrow's Mission", and the article was by H. W. Gensichen, "Were the Reformers Indifferent to Mission". In it he points out that we do them a disservice by judging their concept of Christian missions by our own organized and institutionalized standards of the proper way to do missions in the 20th century. He insists that when the reformers are appraised by their own Biblical theological standards in the light of their own contemporary church and world situation, we need no longer apologize for them as we have so long done on the grounds that "the Reformation itself was so great an achievement in the field of 'home missions', that there could be no scope (for them) for 'foreign missions'." (Ibid, p. 119)

In the first place, he writes in defense of the reformers, that they did have a theology of mission. But it's starting place, as in all their theology, was not what men can and ought to do for the salvation of the world, but what God has done in Jesus Christ. As Calvin, for example, wrote, "We are taught that the Kingdom of Christ is neither to be advanced nor maintained by the ministry of men, but this is the work of God alone." Moreover, the initiative for mission is not man's awareness of the need nor his response and efforts to meet the need. The reformers insisted that the initiative is always with Christ and His Spirit. The Living Word, Christ, said Luther, still rises like the sun over all the world with His governing witness. (Ibid, p. 120f.)

In the second place, the emphasis on the divine initiative in mission in the theology of the reformers, "far from paralyzing human missionary action, even stimulates the preaching of the faith as the first and foremost commission", writes Gensichen (p. 123). Even the obedience of the first apostles who reached the whole world, as the reformers believed, is no excuse for our neglect of the same obedience, said Calvin. The apostles only laid the foundations, and God still "in our own time" raises up his missionaries. (Inst. IV, iii, 4). And though God is indeed the Lord of the mission, and Christ its chief agent, nevertheless God's people must be its "sub-agents" as it were. This is the true meaning of the great reformed doctrine of the priesthood of all believers, says Gensichen (Ibid). "In order to make the heathen hear the word of God," said Luther, "preachers must be sent out..to them." (Ibid, p. 125)

A third important point in the Reformation view of missions explains why the reformers did not set up mission boards and societies, an omission for which they have been much criticized. One excuse made for them on this point was that unlike the Catholic states which were in the vanguard of the age of discovery and were thereby brought into direct contact with hitherto unknown pagan nations, the Reformed territories had almost no direct contact at first with the unevangelized world. But far more important in its bearing on the organization of missionary societies was the reformed doctrine of the church. In the theology of the reformers, the whole church is called to mission, and the responsibility for mission cannot therefore be narrowly committed to any one special department of the church. As Luther said, "Nobody should hear the gospel for himself only, but everyone should tell those who do not know it.." (quoted by Gensichen, p. 124).

This is the point that has been made popular in a modern missionary slogan, "Every Christian should be a missionary." In this spirit Calvin taught that Christian magistrates in the new colonies opening up to the west around the world should recognize as a Christian duty their opportunity to propagate the gospel in regions over which they might have responsibility. (E. D. Soper, The Philosophy of the Christian World Mission, N.Y., 1953, p. 120)

Nevertheless, the fact remains that whether due to the shortage of Protestant preachers in Europe, or to Protestant lack of contact with non-Christian lands, or to the Reformation's own life and death struggle for survival against the counter-attacks of the papacy, the age of the Reformation produced very little in the way of Protestant foreign missionary outreach.

At only two points did the Reformation itself mount a foreign mission. One was Lutheran; the other Calvinist. In 1555 John Calvin, to his eternal credit, answered a plea for preachers from a Huguenot group attempting to open a Protestant colony in Brazil. With the support of Admiral Coligny he sent four missionaries from Geneva to join the expedition of Nicholas Durand, better known by the name of Villegagnon, to the bay of Rio de Janeiro. But both the expedition and the mission proved a failure. One of the missionaries

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wrote back to Geneva that they intended not only to minister as chaplains to the colonists but also to win the native heathen for Christ, but that the problems made it impossible. For one thing, the missionaries could not communicate with the natives, they did not know their language; and, he added, the natives were so barbarous as to be beyond hope. In the end, the whole attempt ended with treachery on the part of the expedition leader, Villegagnon, who turned Catholic again and murdered the Protestants.

The Lutheran attempt was not so dramatically frustrated. In 1557 King Gustavus Vasa who brought the Reformation to Sweden sent itinerant missionaries to the Lapps in the far north, and opened schools for them. But there were no visible missionary results and it was not for another 100 years that the Lutheran mission to the Lapps began to make headway. (Latourette, vol. 3, p. 64)

There is not then much to show for Protestant missions in the age of the Reformation: a superficial theological recognition of the duty of proclaiming the gospel, and two feeble and unsuccessful attempts at launching a mission. John Knox, Calvin's pupil, did manage to put missions on the ~~text~~ title page of the Scottish Confession of 1560, with the verse, "And this glad tidings of the kingdom shall be preached throughout the whole world for a witness to all nations; and then shall the end come" (Matt. 24:14); and he closed the Scottish creed with a missionary prayer, "Give they servants strength to speak thy word in boldness; and let all nations attain to thy true knowledge." (Warneck, p. 20, n.). But quoting scripture and praying for missions is not enough. The tragic fact is that the successors of the Reformers were not only indifferent to missions, the organized church and its theologians actually opposed missions. When a few bold and isolated prophets pleaded for the evangelization of the heathen, the great Lutheran and Reformed preachers thundered from their pulpits at the thought of such folly.

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The Lutherans did no better, if not worse. Their lone prophet of missions was Justinian von Welz, and his tragic case is worth reporting in some detail as typical of the period. It is told in James Scherer's ~~x~~ Justinian Welz: Essays by an Early Prophet of Mission (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1969), which contains not only several introductory chapters, but also Welz's tracts and the reply of Ursinus.

Baron Justinian von Eybisswald Welz came from a noble, castled Austrian family, but when he was only 7 (he was born in 1621) his family sold the castle and moved from Catholic Austria as Lutheran refugees to Saxony. As a student in Holland, Welz's first writings were on social justice and political reform, criticizing rulers who confiscated their subjects' property on the pretext of religious zeal. After school he fell for a time into a life of sensuous profligacy, but came back to the Lord through the study of the Bible. In 1663, when he was 42 years old he began to publish a series of tracts on spiritual discipline and the call to missions, the two great themes to which he devoted the rest of his life.

His first tract, De Vita Solitaria, was a call to a life of separation from the world and inner conversion. It was not a negative asceticism, however, which he took as his ideal, but rather an evangelical emphasis on spiritual discipline and dedication to the service of God in a world that is lost without God. The basis of his theology of missions was the certainty of death and painful condemnation for all who are not saved.

Two other tracts quickly followed in which he proposed the organization of a society for foreign missions. This was the first such concrete proposal in Protestantism. A Brief Report on How a New Society Is To Be Established Among Orthodox Christians of the Augsburg Confession (1663) imagines St. Paul returning after 16 centuries and discovering with dismay that his beloved Holy Land and Greece were no longer Christian, and that Christians graduated from seminary then waited for a church to call them to preach to Christians with no thought of going to the lost outside Christendom. Such thoughts, says Welz, moves him to propose a society for "all unmarried students and pious hearts". I ask you, he says, "whether you will dare to answer on the last day that so many thousands of souls scattered throughout the heathen, Turks, Moors, Indians and others must be condemned on account of their ignorance of the true faith". (Op. cit., p. 51). In his next tract therefore (A Christian and Sincere Admonition to all Orthodox Christians of the Augsburg Confession Concerning a Special Society Through Which with the Help of God Our Evangelical Religion May Be Spread) he draws up a specific proposal for a missionary society which he called the "Jesus-Loving Society". This he expanded in still a fourth tract, An Invitation to the Approaching Great Supper and a Proposal for an Edifying Christian Jesus-Society Dealing with the Betterment of Christendom and the Conversion of Heathendom (1664).

Welz did more than write about missions. He set aside part of his inherited wealth for the establishment of his proposed missionary society, and presented his proposal officially to the Protestant Council (Corpus Evangelicorum) of the Imperial Diet of the Holy Roman Empire, which was composed of the state counsellors of some 39 Protestant kingdoms and territories in the Empire. As a nobleman himself, he had direct access to such high councils. But he was rebuffed. The bureaucracy of the Reformation, both civil and ecclesiastical was not prepared for missions. There was not enough money, he was told. Besides, if converts were made in Turkish lands, they would only be killed. And his proposal to send student volunteers as missionaries was naive; what could they do in two or three years of itinerant preaching? Discouraged, Welz gave up the organized church as hopeless, and gave himself over to pious meditations.

He did not remain inactive, however, for late in 1664 he roused himself to write one last missionary appeal to the church, A Repeated Loyal and Earnest Reminder and Admonition to Undertake the Conversion of Unbelieving Peoples. But it was counter-productive. His bitterness against a church that would not listen to him betrayed him into too reckless a criticism of the church, and only turned the theologians of the day, like J. H. Ursinus, even more sharply against him. Ursinus answered for the Lutheran church. It was a poor answer, failing to deal with Welz's Biblical and theological arguments and countering only with an enumeration of the political and cultural reasons why a mission to the heathen could not succeed. Ursinus even went so far as to question wither is was God's will for the heathen to be converted. (A Sincere, Faithful and Earnest Admonition to Justinian.., op. cit. pp. 97-108).

The break was complete. Welz left Germany for Holland; had himself ordained an "apostle to the heathen" by a maverick Lutheran pastor there; renounced his baronial title; and sailed alone as a missionary to Surinam, a Dutch island off the coast of South America. That was in 1666. Two years later he was dead. As far as is known he had won no converts, and planted no churches.

Was the missiological fruit of the Protestant reformation, then, to be limited to the bare options of a choice between an Ursinus and a Welz--a church without missionaries, and a missionary without a church?

On the one hand, organized Lutheranism as represented by Ursinus, or by the 1651 "Opinion" of the Lutheran theological faculty at Wittenberg in answer to a question about the validity of the Great Commission, rejected the call to foreign missions. There seemed to be three major reasons:

1. The concept of missio Dei robbed the church of a sense of urgency and individual responsibility for foreign missions. God is already spreading his kingdom in everything he does; he already has his church as a missionary organization so he doesn't need human organizations or voluntary societies; every Christian is a missionary so there is no need of professionals.

2. The Great Commission was robbed of its contemporary relevance by its narrow limitation to the New Testament apostolate which has expired with the death of the apostles, and the misleading assumption that it had already been fulfilled by the spread of the gospel to all the world long before. Philip Nicolai in 1598 had published a popular book, De Regno Christi, purporting to show that the whole world had been reached already, and where there seemed to be no church, as among the Aztecs or Incas, it had actually once existed only to disappear because of the hardness of heart of people who deserved no second chance.

3. The church was robbed of its responsibility for mission by the reformation principle of cuius regio eius religio, that is, that the religion of a territory was to be determined by its rulers. Originally applied only to the choice between Protestantism and Catholicism as a compromise solution to end the Wars of Religion, it was conveniently extended to place responsibility for the conversion of the heathen not on the church, but on kings or princes as they extended their colonial empires.

On the other hand was Justinian Welz, visionary and naive, hoping to save the world with his "Christian peace corps" of wandering students.

But the wave of the future [illegible] in Christian mission was not with the organized churches of the Reformation. It was with Welz. He is a foreshadowing of the Pietist revival, and the modern missionary movement which sprang not from the center of the church's structure, but from the visionaries and the voluntary societies.

As James Scherer observes, "In 1664 Welz's missionary appeal fell largely on deaf ears. Only a little more than a decade later, in 1675, (Philip Jacob) Spener published his proposal for spiritual renewal and practical church reform under the title Pia Desideria. The movement known as "pietism" was under way. In 1694, following the establishment of the University of Halle, the ideas for which both Welz and Spener stood began to receive practical implementation. In 1706 missionaries trained under Dr. August Hermann Francke at Halle arrived in Tranquebar, India, as the first emissaries of the Royal Danish Mission. In 1732 the first Moravians missionaries set out for St. Thomas; in 1735 Moravians arrived in Surinam, the land of Welz's martyrdom. Welz'w life and work was a prophecy of pietism and of the [illegible] missionary movement for which it provided the impulse.." (Justinian Welz: Essays by an Early Prophet of Mission) op. cit. p. 34 f.)

V. The Missiology of the Reformation

Protestants have always been a little defensive about the fact that while Catholic theologians were beginning to grapple seriously with the imperatives of missionary outreach to the world, and while the Catholic missionaries of the missionary orders were reaching the farthest corners of the world--Xavier landed in Japan fifteen years before the death of Calvin--the Reformers seemed singularly unconcerned about the lostness of the world outside Christendom.

A. Luther and the Lutherans.

Luther's view of missions has been defended by some Lutherans, but Gustav Warneck, in his important pioneering work, Outline of a History of Protestant Missions, shows all too clearly (its inadequacy) "We miss in the Reformers not only missionary action, but even the idea of missions in the sense in which we understand them today," he writes. "And this not only because the newly discovered heathen world across the sea lay almost wholly beyond the range of their vision..but because fundamental theological views hindered them from giving their activity, and even their thoughts, a missionary direction". (p. 9). He concentrates most of his critique on Luther, whose call was to reformation, not to mission.

Luther seemed to have had three main reasons for neglecting the missionary command of Christ: first, a misinterpretation of Scripture; second, a misreading of church history; and third, too literal an eschatology. His misinterpretation of Scripture was his view that "the nations" (ta ethne) to whom our Lord sends his witnesses are the already converted, Christian nations of Europe, won in times past out of heathen darkness. This makes it easy for him to think of the Reformation mission within Christendom as the continuing fulfillment of the missionary command. His misreading of church history is his conviction that the world has already been reached by the gospel, even back in the days of the first apostles, so he feels no sense of unfinished missionary task. And finally, his eschatology included the curious conviction that some time in the year 1550 the last day would come. Such being the case, the end was too near for serious missionary effort. Besides, had not Christ predicted, in Luke 18:8, that when he returned he would find no faith on the earth?

Melanchthon even more than Luther taught that the missionary commandment was directed only to the Apostles, so is no longer binding upon the church. Later orthodox Lutheranism, opposing the immoderate missionary zeal of the Pietists, hardened into direct hostility against foreign missions.

B. The Reformed Tradition.

Zwingli, while agreeing that the apostles had fulfilled most of the Great Commission, nevertheless recognized that they had not reached the whole world, and that, therefore, the work of world missions must be continued. The role of the apostle, or missionary, did not die with the original apostles, he believed; it is still valid. "Their office," he writes, "is ever to go among the unbelieving and to turn them to the faith, while the bishop remains stationary by those committed to his care." He even chides the Anabaptists for claiming apostolic succession when their so-called "apostles" do not qualify for the title since they do not go out and preach to unbelievers. Despite such a promising beginning of what might have been a missiology, Zwingli said nothing about the duty of the church to send out missionaries. In fact, on one crucial theological point he virtually cuts the nerve of the missionary imperative. Zwingli lapsed in one passage into a kind of limited universalism which kept him from feeling the urgency of reaching the unreached with the gospel. "Pious heathen", he wrote--outstanding and moral men like Socrates and Seneca--would be saved even though they died without a knowledge of the gospel. (C. H. Robinson, History of Christian Missions, op. cit. p. 43)

Calvin's Institutes contain no such potentially fatal compromise with universalism, but in some ways it is even more disappointing missiologically than Zwingli. Zwingli at least recognized that the Biblical function of the missionary was still operative in the church. Calvin, however, writes that the office of apostle (by which he meant missionary) was not intended by Christ to be "of perpetual continuance in the Church, but only for that age when churches were to be raised where none had existed before." (Inst. IV, iii, 4). And since, as he implies, but does not directly state, the apostles had already filled the command of Christ and preached the gospel as missionaries to the whole world, in all nations, the age has passed and the office has lapsed. He does not deny a continuing need for such apostles and evangelists "in our own time", but outlines their role as not for taking the gospel to unreached nations (the nations have been reached), but rather for the recovery of the church "from the defection of Antichrist".(Ibid). In other words, like Luther, Calvin's concept of the Christian mission is almost entirely limited to the work of the Reformation.

Martin Bucer, too, whose key role in the Reformation has only recently been rediscovered by historians, has little to add to any possible "Reformation missiology". He prayed earnestly that all men, "even Jews, Turks and all unbelievers...may be wholly brought to (Christ)". He complained that Christians in the new age of discovery "seek the land and goods..of heathen peoples, but there is little trace of earnestness as to how one may win their souls to Christ our Lord" (quoted by Warneck, op. cit. p. 18). On that foundation he might well have begun to build a call to world mission that could have shaken the Reformers out of their obsession with the problems of the church in Europe. But two common theological misunderstandings cut off his missiology at the roots. The first is the recurring, perverse belief that the apostles had already fulfilled the Great Commission. The other was a misapplication of the doctrine of predestination. Since God has already predestined the elect to salvation, "Christians," wrote Bucer, "require to do nothing else than what they have done hitherto; let everyone occupy his station for the gospel, and the kingdom of Christ will grow". (Warneck, op. cit. p. 19)

C. A Re-assessment of the Missiology of the Reformers.

In the light of the above brief review of the all too few references to world mission in the writings of the Reformers, it is not surprising that it has become almost a dogma that the main-line Reformers, if not anti-missionary, were at least indifferent to missions to the unreached parts of the world.

It has been noted that the men who spoke out most unequivocally for missions to the unreached in the age of the reformation were either neutrals like Erasmus or heretics like the scientist Paracelsus. Erasmus, in his Treatise on the Art of Preaching (1535), urges the enrichiment of the world of the unbelievers with the spiritual treasure of the gospel, and in an emotional cry from the heart wishes that God had accounted him worthy to die as a missionary to the heathen. (Mrs. Ashley Carus-Wilson, The Expansion of Christendom, Lond. 1910, p. 127) Paracelsus, the famous pioneer naturalist and independent-minded spiritualist who is credited with the discovery of hydrogen but who mixed his science with large doses of astrology and superstition, should also be credited with an early proposal that Christians should not only talk about missions but organize for mission. He suggested a kind of para-missionary outreach, "a migrant, non-ecclesiastical apostolate with a missionary emphasis" (H. W. Gensichen, in The Student World, vol. LII, 1960, p. 127), that sounds remarkably like some of the latest innovations in volunteer, mobile missionary service by laymen and laywomen.

In the last two decades, however, historians of missions have begun to come to the defense of the Reformers' theology of missions. A notable example of this is an article in a special issue on missions the the magazine of the World Student Christian Federation magazine, The Student World, in 1960. The issue was entitled "History's Lessons for Tomorrow's Mission", and the article was by H. W. Genischen, "Were the Reformers Indifferent to Mission". In it he points out that we do them a disservice by judging their concept of Christian missions by our own organized and institutionalized standards of the proper way to do missions in the 20th century. He insists that when the reformers are appraised by their own Biblical theological standards in the light of their own contemporary church and world situation, we need no longer apologize for them as we have so long done on the grounds that "the Reformation itself was so great an achievement in the field of 'home missions', that there could be no scope (for them) for 'foreign missions'." (Ibid, p. 119)

In the first place, he writes in defense of the reformers, that they did have a theology of mission. But it's starting place, as in all their theology, was not what men can and ought to do for the salvation of the world, but what God has done in Jesus Christ. As Calvin, for example, wrote, "We are taught that the Kingdom of Christ is neither to be advanced nor maintained by the ministry of men, but this is the work of God alone." Moreover, the initiative for mission is not man's awareness of the need nor his response and efforts to meet the need. The reformers insisted that the initiative is always with Christ and His Spirit. The Living Word, Christ, said Luther, still rises like the sun over all the world with His governing witness. (Ibid, p. 120f.)

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1. The concept of missio Dei robbed the church of a sense of urgency and individual responsibility for missions. God is already spreading his kingdom in everything he does; he already has his church as a missionary organization so he doesn't need human organizations or voluntary societies; every Christian is a missionary so there is no need of professionals.

2. The Great Commission was robbed of its contemporary relevance by its narrow limitation to the New Testament apostolate which ~~xas~~ expired with the death of the apostles, and the misleading assumption that it had already been fulfilled by the spread of the gospel to all the world long before. Philip Nicolai in 1598 had published a popular book, De Regno Christi, purporting to show that the whole world had been reached already, and where there seemed to be no church, as among the Aztecs or Incas, it had actually once existed only to disappear because of ~~xxxx~~ the hardess of hart of people who deserved no second chance.

3. The church was robbed of its responsibility for mission by the reformation principle of cuius regio eius religio, that is, that the religion of a territory was to be determined by its rulers. Originally applied only to the choice between Protestantism and Catholicism as a compromise solution to end the Wars of Religion, it was conveniently extended to place responsibility for the conversion of the heathen not on the church, but on kings or princes as they extended their colonial empires.

On the other hand was Justinian Welz, visionary and naive, hoping to save the world with his "Christian peace corps" of wandering students.

INTRODUCTION TO MISSIOLOGY
Samuel H. Moffett

V. The Missiology of the Reformation
(Summary)

Protestants have always been a little defensive about the fact that while Catholic theologians were beginning to grapple seriously with the imperatives of missionary outreach to the world, and while the Catholic missionaries of the missionary orders were reaching the farthest corners of the world--Xavier landed in Japan fifteen years before the death of Calvin--the Reformers seemed singularly unconcerned about the lostness of the world outside Christendom.

A. Luther and the Lutherans.

Luther's view of missions has been defended by some Lutherans, but Gustav Warneck, in his important pioneering work, Outline of a History of Protestant Missions, shows all too clearly (its inadequacy) "We miss in the Reformers not only missionary action, but even the idea of missions in the sense in which we understand them today," he writes. "And this not only because the newly discovered heathen world across the sea lay almost wholly beyond the range of their vision..but because fundamental theological views hindered them from giving their activity, and even their thoughts, a missionary direction". (p. 9). He concentrates most of his critique on Luther, whose call was to reformation, not to mission.

Luther seemed to have had three main reasons for neglecting the missionary command of Christ: first, a misinterpretation of Scripture; second, a misreading of church history; and third, too literal an eschatology. His misinterpretation of Scripture was his view that "the nations" (ta ethne) to whom our Lord sends his witnesses are the already converted, Chistian nations of Europe, won in times past out of heathen darkness. This makes it easy for him to think of the Reformation mission within Christendom as the continuing fulfillment of the missionary command. His misreading of church history is his conviction that the world has already been reached by the gospel, even back in the days of the first apostles, so he feels no sense of unfinished missionary task. And finally, his eschatology included the curious conviction that some time in the year 1550 the last day would come. Such being the case, the end was too near for serious missionary effort. Besides, had not Christ predicted, in Luke 18:8, that when he returned he would find no faith on the earth?

Melanchthon even more than Luther taught that the missionary commandment was directed only to the Apostles, so is no longer binding upon the church. Later orthodox Lutheranism, opposing the immoderate missionary zeal of the Pietists, hardened into direct hostility against foreign missions.

E. The Reformed Tradition.

Zwingli, while agreeing that the apostles had fulfilled most of the Great Commission, nevertheless recognized that they had not reached the whole world, and that, therefore, the work of world missions must be continued. The role of the apostle, or missionary, did not die with the original apostles, he believed; it is still valid. "Their office," he writes, "is ever to go among the unbelieving and to turn them to the faith, while the bishop remains stationary by those committed to his care." He even chides the Anabaptists for claiming apostolic succession when their so-called "apostles" do not qualify for the title since they do not go out and preach to unbelievers. Despite such a promising beginning of what might have been a missiology, Zwingli said nothing about the duty of the church to send out missionaries. In fact, on one crucial theological point he virtually cuts the nerve of the missionary imperative. Zwingli lapsed in one passage into a kind of limited universalism which kept him from feeling the urgency of reaching the unreached with the gospel. "Pious heathen", he wrote--outstanding and moral men like Socrates and Seneca--would be saved even though they died without a knowledge of the gospel. (C. H. Robinson, History of Christian Missions, op. cit. p. 43)

Calvin's Institutes contain no such potentially fatal compromise with universalism, but in some ways it is even more disappointing missiologically than Zwingli. Zwingli at least recognized that the Biblical function of the missionary was still operative in the church. Calvin, however, writes that the office of apostle (by which he meant missionary) was not intended by Christ to be "of perpetual continuance in the Church, but only for that age when churches were to be raised where none had existed before." (Inst. IV, iii, 4). And since, as he implies, but does not directly state, the apostles had already filled the command of Christ and preached the gospel as missionaries to the whole world, in all nations, the age has passed and the office has lapsed. He does not deny a continuing need for such apostles and evangelists "in our own time", but outlines their role as not for taking the gospel to unreached nations (the nations have been reached), but rather for the recovery of the church "from the defection of Antichrist".(Ibid). In other words, like Luther, Calvin's concept of the Christian mission is almost entirely limited to the work of the Reformation.

Martin Bucer, too, whose key role in the Reformation has only recently been rediscovered by historians, has little to add to any possible "Reformation missiology". He prayed earnestly that all men, "even Jews, Turks and all unbelievers...may be wholly brought to (Christ)". He complained that Christians in the new age of discovery "seek the land and goods..of heathen peoples, but there is little trace of earnestness as to how one may win their souls to Christ our Lord" (quoted by Warneck, op. cit. p. 18). On that foundation he might well have begun to build a call to world mission that could have shaken the Reformers out of their obsession with the problems of the church in Europe. But two common theological misunderstandings cut off his missiology at the roots. The first is the recurring, perverse belief that the apostles had already fulfilled the Great Commission. The other was a misapplication of the doctrine of predestination. Since God has already predestined the elect to salvation, "Christians," wrote Bucer, "require to do nothing else than what they have done hitherto; let everyone occupy his station for the gospel, and the kingdom of Christ will grow". (Warneck, op. cit. p. 19)

C. A Re-assessment of the Missiology of the Reformers.

In the light of the above brief review of the all too few references to world mission in the writings of the Reformers, it is not surprising that it has become almost a dogma that the main-line Reformers, if not anti-missionary, were at least indifferent to missions to the unreached parts of the world.

It has been noted that the men who spoke out most unequivocally for missions to the unreached in the age of the reformation were either neutrals like Erasmus or heretics like the scientist Paracelsus. Erasmus, in his Treatise on the Art of Preaching (1535), urges the enrichiment of the world of the unbelievers with the spiritual treasure of the gospel, and in an emotional cry from the heart wishes that God had accounted him worthy to die as a missionary to the heathen. (Mrs. Ashley Carus-Wilson, The Expansion of Christendom, Lond. 1910, p. 127) Paracelsus, the famous pioneer naturalist and independent-minded spiritualist who is credited with the discovery of hydrogen but who mixed his science with large doses of astrology and superstition, should also be credited with an early proposal that Christians should not only talk about missions for but organize for mission. He suggested a kind of para-missionary outreach, "a migrant, non-ecclesiastical apostolate with a missionary emphasis" (H. W. Gensichen, in The Student World, vol. LII, 1960, p. 127), that sounds remarkably like some of the latest innovations in volunteer, mobile missionary service by laymen and laywomen.

In the last two decades, however, historians of missions have begun to come to the defense of the Reformers' theology of missions. A notable example of this is an article in a special issue on missions the the magazine of the World Student Christian Federation magazine, The Student World, in 1960. The issue was entitled "History's Lessons for Tomorrow's Mission", and the article was by H. W. Genischen, "Were the Reformers Indifferent to Mission". In it he points out that we do them a disservice by judging their concept of Christian missions by our own organized and institutionalized standards of the proper way to do missions in the 20th century. He insists that when the reformers are appraised by their own Biblical theological standards in the light of their own contemporary church and world situation, we need no longer apologize for them as we have so long done on the grounds that "the Reformation itself was so great an achievement in the field of 'home missions', that there could be no scope (for them) for 'foreign missions'." (Ibid, p. 119)

In the first place, he writes in defense of the reformers, that they did have a theology of mission. But it's starting place, as in all their theology, was not what men can and ought to do for the salvation of the world, but what God has done in Jesus Christ. As Calvin, for example, wrote, "We are taught that the Kingdom of Christ is neither to be advanced nor maintained by the ministry of men, but this is the work of God alone." Moreover, the initiative for mission is not man's awareness of the need nor his response and efforts to meet the need. The reformers insisted that the initiative is always with Christ and His Spirit. The Living Lord, Christ, said Luther, still rises like the sun over all the world with His governing witness. (Ibid, p. 120f.)

In the second place, the emphasis on the divine initiative in mission in the theology of the reformers, "far from paralyzing human missionary action, even stimulates the preaching of the faith as the first and foremost commission", writes Gensichen (p. 123). Even the obedience of the first apostles who reached the whole world, as the reformers believed, is no excuse for our neglect of the same obedience, said Calvin. The apostles only laid the foundations, and God still "in our own time" raises up his missionaries. (Inst. IV, iii, 4). And though God is indeed the Lord of the mission, and Christ its chief agent, nevertheless God's people must be its "sub-agents" as it were. This is the true meaning of the great reformed doctrine of the priesthood of all believers, says Gensichen (Ibid). "In order to make the heathen hear the word of God," said Luther, "preachers must be sent out..to them." (Ibid, p. 125)

A third important point in the Reformation view of missions explains why the reformers did not set up mission boards and societies, an omission for which they have been much criticized. One excuse made for them on this point was that unlike the Catholic states which were in the vanguard of the age of discovery and were thereby brought into direct contact with hitherto unknown pagan nations, the Reformed territories had almost no direct contact at first with the unevangelized world. But far more important in its bearing on the organization of missionary societies was the reformed doctrine of the church. In the theology of the reformers, the whole church is called to mission, and the responsibility for mission cannot therefore be narrowly committed to any one special department of the church. As Luther said, "Nobody should hear the gospel for himself only, but everyone should tell those who do not know it.." (quoted by Gensichen, p. 124).

This is the point that has been made popular in a modern missionary slogan, "Every Christian should be a missionary." In this spirit Calvin taught that Christian magistrates in the new colonies opening up to the West around the world should recognize as a Christian duty their opportunity to propagate the gospel in regions over which they might have responsibility. (E. D. Soper, The Philosophy of the Christian World Mission, N.Y., 1953, p. 120)

Nevertheless, the fact remains that whether due to the shortage of Protestant preachers in Europe, or to Protestant lack of contact with non-Christian lands, or to the Reformation's own life and death struggle for survival against the counter-attacks of the papacy, the age of the Reformation produced very little in the way of Protestant foreign missionary outreach.

At only two points did the Reformation itself mount a foreign mission. One was Lutheran; the other Calvinist. In 1555 John Calvin, to his eternal credit, answered a plea for preachers from a Huguenot group attempting to open a Protestant colony in Brazil. Withe the support of Admiral Coligny he sent four missionaries from Geneva to join the expedition of Nicholas Durand, better known by the name of Villegagnon, to the bay of Rio de Janeiro. But both the expedition and the mission proved a failure. One of the missionaries

had
wrote back to Geneva that they intended not only to minister as chaplains to the colonists but also to win the native heathen for Christ, but that the problems made it impossible. For one thing, the missionaries could not communicate with the natives, they did not know their language; and, he added, the natives were so barbarous as to be beyond hope. In the end, the whole attempt ended with treachery on the part of the expedition leader, Villegagnon, who turned Catholic again and murdered the Protestants.

The Lutheran attempt was not so dramatically frustrated. In 1557 King Gustavus Vasa who brought the Reformation to Sweden sent itinerant missionaries to the Lapps in the far north, and opened schools for them. But there were no visible missionary results and it was not for another 100 years that the Lutheran mission to the Lapps began to make headway. (Latourette, vol. 3, p. 64)

There is not them much to show for Protestant missions in the age of the Reformation: a superficial theological recognition of the duty of proclaiming the gospel, and two feeble and unsuccessful attempts at launching a mission. John Knox, Calvin's pupil, did manage to put missions on the ~~first~~ title page of the Scottish Confession of 1560, with the verse, "And this glad tidings of the kingdom shall be preached throughout the whole world for a witness to all nations; and then shall the end come" ( ); and he closed the Scottish creed with a missionary prayer, "Give they servants strength to speak thy word in boldness; and let all mations attain to thy true knowledge." (Warneck, p. 20, n.). But quoting scripture and praying for missions is not enough. The tragic fact is that the successors of the Reformers were not only indifferent to missions, the organized church and its theologians actually opposed missions. When a few bold and isolated prophets pleaded for the evangelization of the heathen, the great Lutheran and Reformed preachers thundered from their pulpits at the thought of such folly.

In 1590 the Dutch Reformed theologian Adrian ~~Saxx~~ Saravia published a missionary call in his book on the Christian ministry, Concerning the Different Orders of the Ministry... He pointed out that the Apostles had never actually reached the whole world with the gospel, and that therefore the Great Commission is still binding upon the church which should find and send apostolic men with living missionary zeal to preach to the heathen. The Reformed churches not only ignored his plea, but because he also proposed an order of bishops in the church they hounded him out of the Reformed church until he found refuge in England, finally becoming Dean of Westminster. Calvin's own successor, Theodore Beza in 1592 published a direct reply to Sravia, On the Tract by Saravia, Belgian... As might be expected, he rejected the proposal for bishops, but went so far as to accuse Saravia of mininterpreting the Scriptures in his call for missionary outreach. (Warneck, p. 21 f.)

The Lutherans did no better, if not worse. Their lone prophet off missions was Justinian von Welz, and his tragic case is worth reporting in some detail as typical of the period. It is told in James Scherer's n Justinian Welz: Essays by an Early Prophet of Mission (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1969), which contains not only several introductory chapters, but also Welz's tracts and the reply of Ursinus.

Baron Justinian von Eybisswald Welz came from a noble, castled Austrian family, but when he was only 7 (he was born in 1621) his family sold the castle and moved from Catholic Austria as Lutheran refugees to Saxony. As a student in Holland, Welz's first writings were on social justice and political reform, criticizing rulers who confiscated their subjects' property on the pretext of religious zeal. After school he fell for a time into a life of sensuous profligacy, but came back to the Lord through the study of the Bible. In 1663, when he was 42 years old he began to publish a series of tracts on spiritual discipline and the call to missions, the two great themes to which he devoted the rest of his life.

His first tract, De Vita Solitaria, was a call to a life of separation from the world and inner conversion. It was not a negative asceticism, however, which he took as his ideal, but rather an evangelical emphasis on spiritual discipline and dedication to the service of God in a world that is lost without God. The basis of his theology of missions was the certainty of death and painful condemnation for all who are not saved.

Two other tracts quickly followed in which he proposed the organization of a society for foreign missions. This was the first such concrete proposal in Protestantism. A Brief Report on How a New Society Is To Be Established Among Orthodox Christians of the Augsburg Confession (1663) imagines St. Paul returning after 16 centuries and discovering with dismay that his beloved Holy Land and Greece were no longer Christian, and that Christians graduated from seminary then waited for a church to call them to preach to Christians with no thought of going to the lost outside Christendom. Such thought, says Welz, moves him to propose a society for "all unmarried students and pious hearts". I ask you, he says, "whether you will dare to answer on the last day that so many thousands of souls scattered throughout the heathen, Turks, Moors, Indians and others must be condemned on account of their ignorance of the true faith". (Op. cit., p. 51). In his next tract therefore (A Christian and Sincere Admonition to all Orthodox Christians of the Augsburg Confession Concerning a Special Society Through Which with the Help of God Our Evangelical Religion May Be Spread) he draws up a specific proposal for a missionary society which he called the "Jesus-Loving Society". This he expanded in still a fourth tract, An Invitation to the Approaching Great Supper and a Proposal for an Edifying Christian Jesus-Society Dealing with the Betterment of Christendom and the Conversion of Heathendom (1664).

Welz did more than write about missions. He set aside part of his inherited wealth for the establishment of his proposed missionary society, and presented his proposal officially to the Protestan Council (Corpus Evangelicorum) of the Imperial Diet of the Holy Roman Empire, which was composed of the state counsellors of some 39 Protestant kingdoms and territories in the Empire. As a nobleman himself, he had direct access to such high councils. But he was rebuffed. The bureaucracy of the Reformation, both civil and ecclesiastical was not prepared for missions. There was not enough money, he was told. Besides, if converts were made in Turkish lands, they would only be killed. And his proposal to send student volunteers as missionaries was naive; what could they do in two or three years of itinerant preaching? Discouraged, Welz gave up the organized church as hopeless, and gave himself over to pious meditations.

He did not remain inactive, however, for late in 1664 he roused himself to write one last missionary appeal to the church, A Repeated Loyal and Earnest Reminder and Admonition to Undertake the Conversion of Unbelieving Peoples. But it was counter-productive. His bitterness against a church that would not listen to him betrayed him into too reckless a criticism of the church, and only turned the theologians of the day, like J. H. Ursinus, even more sharply against him. Ursinus answered for the Lutheran church. It was a poor answer, failing to deal with Welz's Biblical and theological arguments and countering only with an enumeration of the political and cultural reasons why a mission to the heathen could not succeed. Ursinus even went so far as to question wither is was God's will for the heathen to be converted. (A Sincere, Faithful and Earnest Admonition to Justinian.., op. cit. pp. 97-108).

The break was complete. Welz left Germany for Holland; had himself ordained an "apostle to the heathen" by a maverick Lutheran pastor there; renounced his baronial title; and sailed alone as a missionary to Surinam, a Dutch island off the coast of South America. That was in 1666. Two years later he was dead. As far as is known he had won no converts, and planted no churches.

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